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HARVARD STUDIES AND NOTES
IN
PHILOLOGY AND LITERATURE

VOLUME XII

LONDON : HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

HARVARD STUDIES AND NOTES
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VOLUME XII

THE DON CARLOS THEME

By FREDERICK W. C. LIEDER

THE RUSSIAN PRIMARY CHRONICLE

By SAMUEL H. CROSS

CAMBRIDGE
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1930

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PRINTED AT THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASS., U. S. A.

THE last preceding volume of this series, originally published under the title "Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature," appeared in 1907. The continuation of the studies now, after an interval of twenty-three years, has been made possible by the use of a portion of the gift of the General Education Board to Harvard University for the promotion of research in the Humanities.

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THE DON CARLOS THEME

THE DON CARLOS THEME

BY FREDERICK W. C. LIEDER

DON CARLOS, son of Philip II of Spain by the latter's first wife, Mary of Portugal, was born in 1545 and died at the age of twenty-three in 1568. Mystery has always surrounded the life of this unfortunate prince. We have, on the one hand, facts that are now generally accepted by historians — that Carlos was sickly and ugly in appearance, that he showed signs of mental weakness, that this weakness resulted in the wildest and most irresponsible acts, and that he died as a result of his excesses. On the other hand we have literary treatments of facts and events supposedly connected with the life of Carlos — that he was a romantic and cosmopolitan dreamer who hoped to bring about a golden age in Spain and in the rest of the world, that he was in love with his stepmother (formerly his fiancée), and that he was condemned to death by his own father.

The story about the rivalry of Philip and Carlos for the love of Elizabeth of Valois and the story of Philip's inhuman treatment of his son seemed to appeal to popular imagination more than did historical facts. It is true that Philip, upon the death of his second wife, Mary Tudor of England, married Elizabeth of Valois; it is possible that Carlos was at one time mentioned as a desirable husband for Elizabeth, but no engagement was ever officially announced. The story that Philip displaced his son, that Carlos and Elizabeth continued to love one another, and that the king was finally responsible for the death of his son was given wide currency through the novelette published by St. Réal in 1672 (no. 7 in the list of treatments that follow). The influence exerted by St. Réal's story can hardly be overestimated.

Although important literary treatments of the Don Carlos matter — especially those by the Englishman Otway (no. 10), the Frenchman Campistron (no. 13), the Italian Alfieri (no. 22), and the German Schiller (no. 27) — have led to comparisons and discussions as to their deviations from history, only within recent years have attempts been made to trace more systematically and thoroughly the spreading of the Carlos legend in various literatures and literary forms. It is my plan to give a review of the whole subject in the pages that follow.

I shall begin by giving the titles of those studies in which ten or more treatments of the theme are listed:

Amédée de la Rousselière, *Don Carlos, Tragédie en cinque actes et en vers imitée de Schiller*, Liège, 1855. (Rousselière, in his Introduction, expresses admiration for Schiller, Otway, and Alfieri, and then gives the names of eleven authors to whom he owed nothing. Fourteen treatments mentioned.)

Karl Goedeke, *Grundriss der Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, Dresden, 1895. (In vol. V, Pt. 2, Goedeke mentions, by title only, seventeen treatments exclusive of Schiller's.)

F. W. C. Lieder, *The Don Carlos Theme in Literature*. Published in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, vol. IX (October, 1910), no. 4. (Thirty-seven treatments, exclusive of translations.)

F. W. C. Lieder, *Schiller's Don Carlos, Infant von Spanien*. Edited with introduction, bibliography, appendices, notes, and index. New York, 1912. (Forty-three treatments, exclusive of translations.)

Ezio Levi, *Storia Poetica di Don Carlos*, Pavia, 1914. (About thirty treatments.)

A. P. Happel, *The Life and Works of the Abbé de Saint-Réal*. An unpublished doctoral thesis deposited in the Harvard University Library in 1916. (Happel mentions fifteen treatments that were apparently influenced by St. Réal.)

Gustave Dulong, *L'Abbé de Saint-Réal*, Paris, 1921. (Referred to, in the following pages, as Dulong, vol. I.)

Gustave Dulong, *Notes et Documents relatifs à l'Abbé de Saint-Réal*, Paris, 1921. (Referred to as Dulong, vol. II. In this volume the author discusses in detail twelve dramatic treatments that were influenced by St. Réal, and refers casually to others. About twenty-five treatments are mentioned in all.)

Ezio Levi, *Il Principe Don Carlos nella Leggenda e nella Poesia*, Rome, 1924. (This volume is practically a reprint of the work published by Levi in 1914.)

Levi, when he published his book in 1914, was unacquainted with the titles that precede his in the above list; Dulong, when he brought out his thesis in 1921, knew nothing about Levi or about the preceding titles; Levi, when he published his reprint in 1924, mentioned the title of Dulong's book in a few footnotes, but he made no use of Dulong's material.

It will not be my purpose to give long analyses and criticisms of the outstanding treatments; this has been done adequately in biographies of the authors and in editions of their works. I shall aim, rather, to give as complete a list as possible of the treatments of the theme, and to state in connection with the less well-known treatments such facts as may seem pertinent. The treatments are arranged in chronological order.

1. DIOGENES, *ou du moyen d'establir après tant de misères et calamitez une bonne et asseurée paix en France, et la rendre plus florissante qu'elle ne fust jamais*, Liège, 1581.

For more than ten years after the death of Don Carlos and Elizabeth of Valois (1568), accounts of their fate (written, to be sure, mainly by Spaniards) had, on the whole, given an extremely favorable picture of Philip II. Gradually, however, disquieting rumors began to circulate. In June, 1580, Philip issued his ban against William of Orange, staunch defender of the rebellious provinces in the Netherlands. In 1581 William replied with his famous *Apologia*, in which he boldly accused Philip of having poisoned his son Carlos and his wife Elizabeth. It is to be noted, however, that William did *not* accuse Philip of having robbed his son of a bride.

The year 1581 also saw the publication of the curious poem entitled *Diogenes*. The writer appeals to Henry III of France to support the King of Portugal and the people of Flanders against the tyranny of Philip II. Philip is charged with believing the unjust accusations of Ruy Gómez against Don Carlos and Elizabeth — namely, that they loved one another and that their relations were improper. Philip is furthermore branded as the man responsible for the deaths of Carlos and Elizabeth.

The poem, though of little historical value, may be regarded as the first literary treatment in which the love of Carlos for his stepmother is brought out. This all-important element in the story was strongly emphasized by St. Réal, whose *Don Carlos: Nouvelle Historique* (no. 7) so many later writers utilized as a source. St. Réal states in one of his prefaces that the poem *Diogenes* "traite cette matière à fond."

The poem (written in Alexandrines) was reprinted by Anatole de Montaiglon in *Recueil de Poésies Françoises des XVe et XVIe Siècles morales, facêtieuses, historiques*, Bibliothèque Elzevirienne, vol. IX [Paris, 1865]. Montaiglon's description of the poem is thoroughgoing:

> Cette pièce, que nous ne nous rappelons pas avoir vu signaler, et qui est digne d'être connue à plus d'un titre, se trouve à la bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. C'est un in-16 de 14 feuillets non chiffrés, sous les signatures A–D, et de 32 lignes à la page. . . . Il y a pourtant lieu de croire que notre auteur anonyme étoit protestant. Les expressions qu'il emploie, pages 12 et 13, sa connoissance des affaires de la Floride, conquise par une expédition protestante,

paroissent des raisons suffisantes pour le supposer. En même temps ce n'est pas un François, mais un Flamand, plus écrivain que bien des auteurs français ses contemporains, mais qui porte la marque native de l'étranger dans certaines constructions obscures, dans des sens singuliers, dans des mots peu usités, et dans certaines duretés, sentant moins la personnalité que le manque d'expérience et une habitude vicieuse, toutes choses qu'il n'auroit pas s'il avoit vécu dans le vrai milieu de la langue. La pièce, au reste, n'en a que plus de mérite et d'intérêt, et sa haine de Philippe II et de l'Espagnol en est d'autant plus vigoureuse et légitime. C'est elle qui l'inspire tout entière, et c'est le sentiment dont on va trouver ici le développement et l'expression.

2. LE PATISSIER DE MADRIGAL EN ESPAGNE, ESTIME ESTRE DOM CARLOS, FILS DU ROY PHILIPPE, Poitiers, 1596.

Another edition (perhaps the first) appeared in Paris in the same year (1596).

The story (there is a copy of the Poitiers edition in the British Museum) covers only fourteen pages. Philip had commanded the Prince of Eboli (called Roderic de Gommes de Sylva Portugais), the Count of Chinchon, and two others to put Carlos to death. These four men decided to let Carlos escape on condition that he change his name and keep himself out of sight during the lifetime of the king. There appeared years later, at Madrigal, a man with a black beard tinged with gray. He prepared, with a few assistants, "certaines pâtisseries et semblables delicatesses," and sold them to those who cared to buy. Suspicion and doubt caused his arrest. He suggested an appeal to the king, and after advice had come from Madrid, was guarded in a château called "La Motte de Medine," where he had kindly treatment, but was not allowed to talk to anyone except his guards. The story states that the "pâtissier" had appeared eighteen months before (that is, in 1594 or 1595), and that he seemed to be about forty-four years old. This would suggest about 1550 as the date of Carlos's birth; as a matter of fact, he was born in 1545.

E. Fournier (*Variétés historiques et littéraires*, II [Paris, 1855], 27), quotes in a footnote a certain M. Leber: "M. Leber voit dans ce livret une anecdote singulière d'ou il résulteroit, dit-il, que D. Carlos auroit vécu longtemps après l'époque où l'on suppose que son père le fit assasiner. . . . El prouve au moins, ajoute-t-il, que le sort de ce prince fut toujours un problème, même du temps de Philippe II, qui ne mourut qu'en 1598."

3. PIERRE DE BOURDEILLE, ABBÉ DE BRANTÔME, *Vies des Grands Capitains* (especially the articles *Philippe II, Roy d'Espagne* and

Don Carlos), also *Vies des Dames Illustres* (especially the article *Elizabeth de France, Reyne d'Espagne*). Written before 1614. First printed in an edition of Brantôme's works in nine volumes, Leyden, 1665–66.

Brantôme's dates were 1540 to 1614. Though he had spent some time at the Court of Spain in November, 1564, and had seen the characters whom he describes, his work is hardly a historical account, for he repeats the rumors that were current in France. According to Brantôme, Carlos was condemned to death by his father, and was strangled; and Carlos, moreover, had gone through the trying experience of losing his fiancée when his father decided to marry her. St. Réal, who mentions Brantôme as one of his sources, made much of this episode, which, in turn, had a powerful effect on writers who subsequently treated the Don Carlos theme.

4. DON DIEGO XIMENEZ DE ENCISO, *El Principe Don Carlos*. Written, and probably performed, between 1619 and 1629.

Much confusion has prevailed about this play. It was printed for the first time in volume XXVIII of *Comedias de Varios Autores*, En Huesca, 1634; the author's name is spelled "Anciso," and the play is described on the title-page as "Comedia Famosa." Enciso based his play on Cabrera's *Historia de Felipe Segundo*, which appeared in 1619. In some editions of Spanish plays *El Principe Don Carlos* is attributed to Lope de Vega, in others to Montalván. Ticknor (*History of Spanish Literature*, II [Boston, 1863], 319) mentions Montalván as the author, and this error appears in the catalogue of the Ticknor Collection in the Boston Public Library. Dulong (II, 75) makes the same mistake that Ticknor made.

Enciso's treatment is the first drama dealing with the theme; it is, moreover, the most significant of those few treatments that follow historical facts. Carlos is *not* in love with his stepmother; he is represented as a high-strung, impetuous, feverishly impatient youth, given to wild excesses and imbued with the fixed idea that the courtiers are plotting to keep him from winning his father's favor and from sharing in the government of his father's realms, especially Flanders. At the end of the play Carlos is miraculously cured from a fever and from injuries sustained through a fall. In the version by Cañizares (no. 19) and the stage adaptation by Schaeffer (no. 95), Carlos dies as a result of his excesses.

A good summary of Enciso's play may be found in Levi's works (chapter 4 in the editions of 1914 and of 1924). What impresses one most is Enciso's keen sense for historical truth. This is brought out by two German historians of Spanish literature, Adolph Fr. von Schack and Adolf Schaeffer. Schack says (*Geschichte der dramatischen Literatur*) *und Kunst in spanien*, II [Berlin, 1845], 536):

> Der Prinz erscheint — sehr verschieden von dem D. Carlos, den die träumende Phantasie der neueren Zeit erschaffen hat, aber gewiss in mehr Übereinstimmung mit den historischen Zeugnissen — als ein launenhafter und übermüthiger Wüstling, als ein Tyrann aller seiner Untergebenen, dessen Tod vor dem Regierungsantritt ein wahres Glück für Spanien sei. In der Darstellung seines ausgelassenen Treibens sind viele einzelne, offenbar durch Tradition überlieferte, Anekdoten und Züge aus seinem Leben benutzt, aus denen der Geschichtsschreiber ein neues und interessantes Licht über letzteres verbreiten könnte.

And Schaeffer (*Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas*, I [Leipzig, 1890], 400):

> Die Characterzeichnung in diesem Schauspiel ist geradezu unübertrefflich. Philipp II in seiner ernsten, oft pedantischen Weise; der Prinz in seiner rücksichtslosen, aufbrausenden, tyrannischen Art; Herzog Alba von eiserner Kaltblütigkeit und der kaum respectvollen Haltung einer langjährigen, unentbehrlichen Ministers; der Cardinal Espinosa, trotz seiner hohen Stellung von höfischerm, furchtsamerm Character: alle diese Figuren machen den Eindruck hoher historischer Wahrheit. Wie sehr hat dagegen unser Schiller in seinem Don Carlos gegen die Geschichte gefrevelt, wenn auch sein Drama demjenigen des Enciso als Dichtung bedeutend überlegen ist!

5. PEDRO CALDERÓN DE LA BARCA, *La Vida es Sueño*. Written about 1630.

It has been held (not without some justification) that Calderón, in writing this, the most famous of his plays, was influenced by Enciso's *El Principe Don Carlos* (no. 4). The case has been stated most clearly by Ezio Levi, *La Leggenda di Don Carlos nel Teatro Spagnuolo del Seicento* (*Revista d'Italia* [1913], pp. 910–911):

> La più celebre delle rappresentazioni teatrali ispirate dalla leggenda di Don Carlos e dal dramma di Enciso è *La vita è un sogno* di Calderón de la Barca. . . . In questa rappresentazioni del triste destino del Principe e della natura selvaggia e truce di lui, Calderón deve aver avuto naturalmente davante agli occhi il profilo leggendario di Don Carlos. . . . I due drammi furono composti nel medesimo tempo: il *Don Carlos* tra il 1620 e il 1628 e *La vita è un sogno* verso 1630. Quale dunque dei due sarà l'originale? La risposta non pùo essere dubbia: le scene potenti e suggestive di Enciso devono

avere accesa la fantasia di Calderón, come mossero quella di Montalván, di Cañizares e di tanti altri scrittori drammatici. Gli episodi comuni alle due tragedie sono nella *Vita è un sogno* puramente accessori e descrittivi, mentre nel *Don Carlos* sono così connessi con tutta l' azione che non si pùo credere che essi siano stati creati per altro impulso fuor che quello della stessa necessità drammatica e dallo svolgimento organico e naturale dell' argomento.

The main plot of Calderón's drama may be briefly outlined. Segismundo, son of King Basilio of Poland, has been kept in seclusion since early infancy — the result of a horoscope cast by the father at the birth of the child. The father feared that the son might bring disaster upon the kingdom. In time, however, the father relents, decides to have his son brought to the palace while in a trance, gives orders that Segismundo be greeted as King, and proclaims that the son's fate will be determined by his actions. The experiment is a dismal failure; Segismundo is overbearing and disrespectful, he delivers rude speeches, commits deeds of violence, and is promptly given a sleeping potion and hurried back to prison. Here he is told that he has been asleep, and that he has merely dreamed of the brilliant reception that was accorded him. As time goes on Segismundo gradually learns to control himself; he develops into a normal human being, succeeds with the help of supporters in defeating his father (to whom he submits in filial fashion), is proclaimed King, and rules with justice toward all his subjects.

In Enciso's drama Carlos is also represented as a wild and irresponsible youth, who is finally kept a prisoner in his own room. Here he falls into a raging fever from which he is cured (according to the original version of the drama) by S. Diego of Alcalá.

Is it unlikely that Calderón had Enciso's drama in mind? The shifting of the scene from Spain to Poland is comprehensible: the royal house of Spain could offer no objections to the treatment of the theme with foreign characters. We are to remember that Racine (no. 8) and Campistron (no. 13) also shifted the scene of action to foreign countries.

6. JUAN PÉREZ DE MONTALVÁN, *El Segundo Seneca de España.* Appeared first in 1632.

The title, as can readily be supposed, refers to King Philip II. The other principal characters of the play are Don Carlos, Don Juan of Austria, Alba, Lady Leonor (who is in love with Don Juan), Santoyo (an old counsellor to the King), Pompeyo (a sculptor), and a Cardinal.

The plot is simple. In the first act Philip, in consultation with Santoyo, disposes of a number of petitions. Among those that are not granted is one from the people of the Netherlands; Philip decides to crush the uprising by appointing Alba as the commander of the Spanish forces in Flanders. In this act the love affair between Don Juan and Leonor is touched upon briefly.

In the second act we find Carlos attempting to kill Alba, whose appointment as commander has aroused the Prince's jealousy. Unsuccessful in his attempt, Carlos tries to enlist the support of his uncle, Don Juan. During the heated argument that ensues they draw near Leonor's house, whereupon Carlos loudly announces that he wishes to call on her. Juan calls Leonor to the window, Carlos addresses her, she cuts off his entreaties by slamming the window in his face, and Juan escorts the raging and threatening Prince back to the palace. Here the King orders his son to bed.

In the third act the King, who has had many reports of his son's violent actions, summons Carlos, reprimands him, and threatens to deal harshly with him unless he reforms. Carlos starts to upbraid Alba, but before finishing his speech he falls into a violent fever. The King gives orders to have his son carried to his apartments. Later, the Prince requests, through Don Juan, to be allowed to go to Alcalá for his health, and the King gives his permission. During this act Philip, at the request of the Cardinal, signs the marriage agreement with Anne of Austria, orders the sculptor Pompeyo to make bronze figures for the garden of San Lorenzo, journeys to Segovia to meet his fiancée, and arranges for his fourth marriage on the following day.

Montalván, friend and admirer of Lope de Vega, had a short life; he was born in Madrid in 1602, and died, while insane, in 1638. His *El Segundo Seneca de España*, like all his works, was extremely popular. Cabrera's *Historia* (1619) and Enciso's *El Principe Don Carlos* were undoubtedly his chief sources. Like Enciso, and unlike most later dramatists, he follows historical facts. The action takes place in 1570. Here we find a slight deviation from history, for Carlos plays a part in the drama, though the historical Carlos died in 1568. Nowhere in the drama do we find any hint that Philip robbed his son of a bride. As in Enciso's work, Carlos is represented as a stubborn, overbearing, and intemperate youth. Montalván's delineation of the characters of Philip and Carlos is excellent. His play, however, is inferior to Enciso's.

7. César Vichard Saint-Réal, *Dom Carlos, Nouvelle Historique,* Amsterdam, 1672.

St. Réal has been treated thoroughly in the thesis by Happel and in the monumental work by Dulong. Without question St. Réal's story, a curious mixture of fact and fiction, had an influence such as few books have had. Three editions of the work appeared in Amsterdam in 1672 and two in 1673, one in Paris in 1673, another in Lyon in 1675, followed by many more editions in the following two centuries. It was quickly translated into English and German. It was the main source for the important treatments of the theme by Otway, Campistron, Alfieri, and Schiller, who, in turn, influenced many other writers.

Dulong (I, 118–129) mentions twenty sources that St. Réal might have utilized. He concludes with the significant statement (I, 128):

> Saint-Réal s'est dispensé de ce travail. Il cite confusément au bas des pages les historiens français et protestants, presque tous ardemment hostiles à Philippe II, et les historiens espagnols ou italiens qui lui sont favorables. Il prend dans les textes, à droite et à gauche, non ce qui lui paraît plus vrai, mais ce qui s'adapte le mieux à son plan, ce qui lui permettra le mieux de rehausser l'intérêt de sa narration par des épisodes piquants. En un mot, il n'a cure de la vérité historique et ne cherche que l'intérêt romanesque. Et là où les données soi-disant historiques de ses auteurs lui paraissent laisser des lacunes, il y supplié de sa belle imagination.

St. Réal was clever to see that the love of Carlos for his stepmother and former fiancée, whether historically true or not, would appeal to popular fancy, and this element in the story he emphasized again and again. He was not mistaken in his judgment. Most of the writers who later treated the theme accepted without hesitation St. Réal's touching account of Carlos's consuming passion for his father's wife.

We need not dwell on the familiar details of St. Réal's tale — the marriage of Philip to Elizabeth, the meeting of the Prince with the Queen, the intrigues of Eboli and Don Juan, the suspicions of the King about the relations of his wife to his son, the plans of Carlos to go to Flanders, the discovery of the plot, the death of Carlos (who opens his veins in the bath) and of the Queen (who drinks poison).

The influence of St. Réal not only on fiction but also on historical accounts is best summed up by a biographer of Don Carlos. W. Maurenbrecher (*Don Carlos* [Berlin, 1869], p. 5) gives the following remarkable account:

Ein französischer Dichter, Saint-Réal, ist es, der dieser Aufgabe genügte. Mit leichtem und pikantem Tone gab er das Bild, das als das überlieferte bis heute gilt. Saint-Réal ist es, der aus eigenen noch dazu falsch gedeuteten Angaben die rührende Liebesgeschichte zusammengezimmert hat, die reichliche Thränen aus schönen Augen hervorzulocken pflegt. Der historische Roman, den er als Geschichte ausgab, fand den allgemeinsten Beifall; er ward übersetzt und gelesen allenthalben in Europa. Und noch heute stösst der Forscher in spanischen Bibliotheken — ich rede aus eigener Erfahrung — bisweilen, und nicht gerade selten, auf sorgfältig gehütete Manuscripte, die als die eigentliche wahre Aufklärung über Don Carlos ihm geboten werden: mit Spannung schlägt er auf; er ist erstaunt, nichts als eine Copie oder eine Uebersetzung des schon oft gedruckten Romans von Saint-Réal zu lesen. So sehr ist man in Spanien noch von der untrüglichen Wahrheit jenes Trugbildes überzeugt.

8. JEAN RACINE, *Mithridate. Tragédie,* Paris, 1673.

In the Preface to his drama, Racine makes the following statement: "Ainsi je ne pense pas qu'il soit besoin de citer ici mes auteurs. Car, excepté quelque événement que j'ai un peu rapproché par le droit que donne la poésie, tout le monde reconnaîtra aisément que j'ai suivi l'histoire avec beaucoup de fidélité."

The principal characters in the drama are: Mithridate, King of Pontus; Monime, affianced to Mithridate and already proclaimed Queen; Pharnace and Xipharès, his sons by different mothers; Arbate, a close friend of Mithridate and governor of one of the provinces; Phaedime, confidante of Monime; Arcas, a servant of Mithridate. Both Pharnace and Xipharès are in love with Monime, their father's betrothed; Monime, however, confesses her affection only for Xipharès. In the wars between Pontus and Rome Xipharès loyally supports his father, while Pharnace is in secret alliance with the Romans. At the end of the play Mithridate, before dying, commends the faithful Monime to the care of Xipharès.

Have we in Racine's drama a parallel to the traditional story of Don Carlos, Philip, and Elizabeth of Valois? We might identify Philip with Mithridate, Monime with Elizabeth, Xipharès with Don Carlos, the war of Pontus against Rome with the war of Spain against the Netherlands. Monime, to be sure, is affianced, not married, to Mithridate, but she has been proclaimed Queen; moreover, it was against the traditions of the French stage in Racine's day to represent on the stage the love affairs of married ladies. There are other points of similarity. Monime discourages Xipharès in his suit; Elizabeth deliberately avoids encouraging Carlos. Xipharès has a rival in his half brother Pharnace; Carlos (according to St. Réal) has a rival in Don Juan of Austria.

St. Réal's *Dom Carlos, Nouvelle Historique* first appeared in 1672; two other editions were published in 1672, and three in 1673, the year in which Racine's *Mithridate* was brought out. St. Réal's story became popular immediately. Whether Racine had an opportunity to see the printed text of St. Réal's novelette before starting to write his *Mithridate* is difficult to determine, for Racine's drama was published in January, 1673, and a notice of its coming production had appeared as early as August, 1672, in the *Mercure galant* (III, 270). Dulong (II, 79), however, thinks that Racine might have become acquainted with St. Réal's work even before it was published:

> Le garde des sceaux . . . n'en veut pas permettre l'impression, mais il s'est élevé à la cour une véritable cabale en faveur de ce livre. D'autre part, nous savons par un petit écrit contemporain que Saint-Réal avait donné lecture de son ouvrage avant de le publier, à divers amis. Il n'est impossible que Racine, qui paraît avoir connu personnellement Saint-Réal ait, avant le mois d'août 1672, assisté à l'une de ces lectures, entendu parler tout au moins d'un ouvrage qui fit quelque bruit avant même d'être imprimé, et qu'il ait été amené de cette manière à concevoir une tragédie dont le sujet serait, comme dans la nouvelle de Saint-Réal, la rivalité amoureuse d'un père et d'un fils.

I regard as of extreme importance the statement from Racine's Preface (quoted at the beginning of this item). Racine says that everyone will recognize that he has faithfully followed history. Did everyone know of the love affairs of Mithridates, of his sons, and of his fiancée? Or was Racine thinking of a more widely known story, namely that of Don Carlos? Did he, like Campistron (no. 13), transfer the scene and give other names to his characters in order not to offend the sensibilities of the Spanish Court? This hypothesis seems not improbable.

9. DER UNGLÜCKLICH-VERLIEBTE FÜRST: *oder Prinz Karls auss Spanien kurtz-gefasste Liebes-, Lebens-, und Todes-Geschichte. Aus dem Französischen verteutscht. Im Jahr MDCLXXIV* [1674].

The Preface, "An den Teutsch-gesinneten Leser," is signed "J. H. W. v. B." The British Museum catalogue suggests that these are the initials of "Johann Hermann Widerhold von Basel."

The author, whose source is undoubtedly St. Réal, states his ambition in the Preface:

> Mein Absehen ist allein dieses, was andere vor mir gethan und noch thun, fortzusetzen, nemlich auss Liebe zu der Mutter-Sprach, das reine Teutsche

unter den Annehmlichkeiten der Geschichte dem Leser so viel füglicher beyzubringen.

This story — especially the opening paragraphs — may be regarded as a paraphrase rather than as a translation of St. Réal. Of interest is the fact that it appeared only two years after St. Réal's story was first published. Apparently it is the first adaptation of St. Réal in a foreign language.

10. THOMAS OTWAY, *Don Carlos, Prince of Spain. A tragedy*, London, 1676.

This play, appearing only four years after St. Réal's novelette, is the first English treatment of the story as found in St. Réal; it must be looked upon as one of the most important treatments of the theme in any language. It is written in heroic couplets, but otherwise reminds one strongly of Shakspere, particularly of *Othello*.

Otway's treatment of the material of St. Réal is masterly. The play, moreover, was strikingly successful. The *Biographica Dramatica* gives interesting citations from a letter of Mr. Booth to Aaron Hill, from Dr. Johnson, and from Rochester's *Trial of the Poets for the Bays*. It is of interest that Otway was one of the few dramatists (Campistron, nine years later, was another) who followed St. Réal closely in the matter of the catastrophe; Carlos opens his veins in the bath. The Queen dies of poison. The King suffers from remorse.

Otway was only twenty-five when he wrote *Don Carlos*, the most remunerative of all his writings. Like Dryden and other English men of letters, he was influenced by the French classical drama. In *Don Carlos*, therefore, the so-called three unities seem to be consistently maintained.

St. Réal's story, "Englished by H. J.," appeared in London in 1674 — two years after the original French version was published. St. Réal visited London in 1676, the year in which Otway's drama was published and first performed (at the Duke's Theatre).

11. G. BIDLOO, *Karel, Erf-Prins van Spanje; Treurspel*, 1679.

The copy in the Barton–Ticknor Collection of the Boston Public Library was published at Amsterdam in 1753. A Preface, "Aan de Weleedel geboorene Juffer Mejuffer Aletta van Outshoorn," is dated 1679 and signed "G. Bidloo."

The play is divided into five acts, covers eighty-two pages (less than 2000 lines), and is written in rhymed Alexandrines. There are thirteen characters, the principal ones being Philip, Isabella of Valois, Karel, Rodrigo Gómez de Silva, and Anna de Mendoza Cerda. There is no character corresponding to Alba.

The chief source seems to be St. Réal. A letter from the Queen received at Alcalá by Carlos arouses the King's suspicions. Carlos, under cross-examination by Philip's guards, "heeft zyn ring in't lief gezwolgen." One of the guards, Fresnada, gives Carlos a sleeping potion; he knows it is poison, but drinks it and dies.

12. DANIEL CASPER VON LOHENSTEIN. A so-called "Heldenbrief" on Philip and Eboli, Breslau, 1680.

Lohenstein lived from 1635 to 1683. His *Trauer- und Lustgedichte* and his *Sämtliche Gedichte* both appeared in 1680. In a collection of Lohenstein's poems entitled *Blumen* (Breslau, 1680), we find two "Heldenbriefe" (pp. 49–57) that deal with Philip and Eboli. The first, entitled "König Philip an die Fürstin Eboly," written in rhymed Alexandrines, contains one hundred lines; the eleventh line — "Sohn und Gemahl seh ich mit trocknen Augen sterben" — refers to the tragic fate of Carlos and Elizabeth. The second letter, "Eboly an König Philippen," likewise contains one hundred rhymed Alexandrines. Eboli is represented as having only one eye. This seems to be the only literary reference to this deformity, although at least one portrait (attributed to Alonso Sánchez Coello and preserved in the collection of the Duke of Pastrana) depicts Eboli with a pad over one eye.

Max Freiherr von Waldberg (*Die galante Lyrik*, Strassburg, 1885) gives to Hoffmannswaldau the credit for having introduced into German literature the so-called "Heldenbrief," and states that Lohenstein and Mencke wrote "Heldenbriefe" on the Don Carlos theme.

13. JEAN GALBERT DE CAMPISTRON, *Andronic*, Paris, 1685.

Like Calderón and Racine (nos. 5 and 8), Campistron found it advisable to shift his scene from Spain (this time to Byzantium) and to give his characters non-Spanish names. The Emperor Collojean Paléologue corresponds to Philip II, his wife Irène to Elizabeth of Valois, his son Andronic to Don Carlos, his ministers Léon and Marcène to Alba and Domingo, and Martian to Posa. The action hinges on Andronic's love for his stepmother, Irène, and on his desire to conciliate the Bulgars (who correspond to the Netherlanders in other plays). The prince is placed under arrest by his father and dies by opening his veins while in the bath. The Empress takes poison; the Emperor is overcome with grief.

Campistron states in the Preface to *Andronic* (edition of 1715):

> Je conçus la première idée de ce sujet sur une histoire moderne, écrite par M. l'abbé de Sainte-Réal, et qui a été, pendant plusieurs années, entre les mains de tout le monde; mais comme, par des raisons invincibles, je ne pouvois pas mettre sur la scene les personnages de M. de Sainte-Réal sous leurs véritables noms, je fus obligé de chercher ailleurs quelque événement qui ressemblât à celui qu'il avoit traité. Je trouvai heureusement ce qui je cherchois dans l'histoire de Constantinople. Les caractères de Collojean, d'Andronic et d'Irène sont les mêmes que M. de Sainte-Réal a donnés à ceux dont il a parlé; et les faits des deux histoires sont conformes dans toutes leurs circonstances. . . . Le succès de cette tragédie fut aussi heureux à la cour et à la ville, qu'aucun qu'il y ait jamais eu; et il ne passa même, pendant les premières représentations, des choses si avantageuses pour moi, qu'il ne me convient pas de les rapporter. . . . Ce succès a été si grand qu'il auroit pu me persuader que j'ai fait une pièce parfaite, si j'avois été plus vain que je ne suis; mais, bien loin de le penser, j'avoue de bonne foi qu'il y a plusieurs défauts: ainsi j'attribue sa réussite autant à la beauté du sujet et à l'adresse des acteurs, qu'à mes vers et à mes pensées. Le sujet est le plus touchant et le plus singulier qui ait jamais été traité.

Andronic is arranged in five acts, is written in rhymed Alexandrines, and is comparatively short (about 1700 lines). Although usually classed as one of the great dramatic treatments of the Carlos theme (the dramas by Enciso, Otway, Alfieri, and Schiller are the others), Campistron's *Andronic* lacks force and conviction. As an example we might cite the final lines, spoken by the Emperor, after he learns that his son and his wife have died:

> Estoient-ils innocens ou coupables tous deux,
> Je ne sçais: mais helas! que je suis malheureux!

Speaking of the brevity of *Andronic*, Dulong (II, 93, 94) sums up the play thus:

> Mais on voit trop que cette brévité n'est que pauvreté et stérilité d'inspiration. Avec un admirable sujet, Campistron n'arrive vraiment ni à émouvoir ni à intéresser. On sent, en lisant son *Andronic*, combien les règles classiques, si elles sont un stimulant pour les écrivains de génie, se changent en pesantes entraves pour les médiocres. Campistron n'a su placer l'intérêt de sa tragédie ni dans l'histoire, ni dans la peinture de l'amour et de la jalousie. Il substitue à l'histoire une politique conventionnelle et banale. Et l'amour, nous l'avons vu, n'occupe presque jamais qu'une place secondaire dans cette tragédie où la passion devrait tout enflammer.

14. JOHANN BURKHARD MENCKE (*nom de plume*, Philander van der Linde), "Heldenbriefe" on Don Carlos and Elizabeth of Valois. Written 1692(?); published 1705(?).

Mencke's dates were 1674 to 1732. Max Freiherr von Waldberg (*Die galante Lyrik*, p. 133), says: "Mencke behandelte auch den Stoff von Don Carlos und Isabella"; Koberstein (*Geschichte der deutschen National Literatur*, II [ed. Bartsch, Leipzig], 213, n. 15): "Früher da er [Mencke] noch zu sehr in Hoffmannswaldau's Gleichnisse verliebt war, hatte er sich diesen, namentlich in seinen meist im 18. Jahre verfertigten Heldenbriefen, die im ersten Theile [der *Gedichte*] stehen, zum Vorbild genommen."

The date of composition of the "Heldenbriefe" — if Mencke wrote them in his eighteenth year — would be about 1692, and the publication about 1705 (the first edition of the *Galante Gedichte*).

The Columbia University Library has an edition of 1723. Under the title "Heldenbriefe" we find the heading "Liebe zwischen Carl dem Infanten von Spanien und seiner Stieffmutter Isabella." A prose Introduction of one page tells of Carlos's imprisonment and of the Queen's death from poison. Mencke undoubtedly used St. Réal as his source. Then come two letters, the first "Isabella an ihren Stieff-Sohn Carl Infanten von Spanien" (72 lines), the second "Carl an seine Stieffmutter Isabella Königin von Spanien" (68 lines). These "Heldenbriefe" are written in rhymed Alexandrines with the rhyme scheme *ababcdcd*, in which *a* and *c* are feminine, *b* and *d* masculine.

15. DE HISTORISCHE LEVENS- EN LIEFDENSVERHAAL VAN CAREL ERFPRINS VAN SPANJEN. *War in met verwonderenswaardige zeldsaamheden het huwelyk met de Princesse van Vrankryk aangetoond werd; en hoe die Princesse door do dood van Carels Moeder, door zyn Vader pepretendeert en verkregen woerd. Alles met een korte beknopte Historische Verhaalinge door een voornaam Liefhebber der waare beschryvinge byeengebragt*, Amsterdam, 1737.

This work (it consists of 186 pages) follows closely the story of St. Réal, and is listed here mainly because the "voornaam Liefhebber der waare beschryvinge" seems to be willing to have the public believe that the work is original with him. There is a copy of the work in the Staatsbibliothek in Munich.

16. ANDRONICUS, TREURSPEL. *Gefolgd naar het Fransche van den Herre de Campistron*, Te Amsteldam, 1741.

The "Toewying aan de Kundige Oefenaren der Nederduitsche Dichtkunste" (a poem of 12 rhymed Alexandrines) is signed "F. v. Steenwyk, de Jonge."

The Dutch version, like its French model, is written in rhymed Alexandrines, and follows the original closely. The arrangement of scenes, however, differs. Campistron's acts are divided as follows: Act I, eight scenes; II, eight scenes; III, ten scenes; IV, twelve scenes; V, thirteen scenes — total, fifty-one scenes. Steenwyk's acts are divided: Act I, seven scenes; II, seven; III, nine; IV, nine; V, eight — total, forty scenes.

Steenwyk's arrangement is more logical than Campistron's. For example, the Dutch version avoids scenes of only a few lines. One of Campistron's scenes, in fact, has less than one full line. In Act I, Scene ii, Crispe appears, Léon exclaims "Que l'on nous laisse seuls," Crispe leaves the stage, and a new scene begins.

There is a copy of Steenwyk's play in the British Museum.

17. MARQUIS A. L. DE XIMENÈS, *Dom Carlos. Tragédie en cinq actes et en vers. Représentée pour la première fois sur le Théâtre de Lyon, le Mardi 5 Mai 1761.*

The copy in the British Museum does not give the name of the author or the date and place of publication. The catalogue, however, states that the work was published at La Haye in 1761.

The scene is laid in Madrid in 1568. There are only nine characters — Philip, Elizabeth, Carlos, Alba, Egmont, the Duchess of Montmorency, Elvira (a confidante of Eboli's), the Marquis de Bergh (a friend of Carlos's). The play is written in rhymed Alexandrines, and is comparatively short (about 1600 lines distributed over 80 pages). Thus it is less than one third as long as Schiller's drama.

An "Avertissement," below the list of actors who took part in the first performance, reads:

> Tout le monde sçait que Monsieur de Capistron [*sic*] traita le sujet de *Dom Carlos* sous le nom d'*Andronic:* mais on a cru que l'avanture tragique & vraie de cet infortuné Prince d'Espagne pourrait faire une impression neuve & distincte de tout ce qui s'appelle *Art et Seduction de Roman*. Du reste on a tâché de s'éloigner également d'une imitation servile, & de l'affectation superbe d'éviter les ressemblances nécessaires dans le même sujet.

Ximenès's play is a mediocre piece of work, and shows throughout that Campistron's *Andronic* was the main source. Ximenès deserves credit for discarding the Byzantine names employed by Campistron. Ximenès's play also ends differently from Campistron's — Carlos throws himself upon his sword and dies. It is of interest that in three of the prose versions of Schiller's drama (Ba, Bd, and Bs) Carlos stabs himself.

Contemporary opinion of Ximenès's play was distinctly unfavorable. Referring to one of the early performances, Rousselière (p. 26) makes the statement: "Au nombre des spectateurs se trouvait fougueux critique Diderot. Nous avons dans ses oeuvres l'analyse qu'il fit de la pièce: c'est un jugement d'une sévérité à faire frémir quiconque se mèle de composer des vers."

18. Johann Gottfried Dyk, *Don Carlos und Elizabeth. Trauerspiel*, 1770.

This play is based on Thomas Otway's *Don Carlos, Prince of Spain* (London, 1676). (See Goedeke, *Grundriss*, V, 2, ¶ 253, 11.) Unable to find the book in any of the libraries that I have consulted, I am in doubt whether to class it as a translation or an adaptation. The fact that Dyk uses a title different from Otway's seems to indicate that his work is an adaptation.

19. José de Cañizares, *El Principe Don Carlos*. Written about 1720, published at Valencia in 1773.

The volume in which the play appears (there is a copy in the British Museum) is entitled "Comedia Famosa. El Principe Don Carlos de Don Diego Ximenez de Enciso." At the end of the play appears the statement: "Con Licencia: En Valencia . . . Año 1773."

For more than a century it was not known that this play was not entirely the work of Enciso. Rudolph Schwill ("The Comedias of Diego Ximenez de Enciso," *Modern Language Notes*, XVIII, 194–210) had pointed out that the final scenes of the later edition are different from those of the first. J. P. W. Crawford ("*El Principe Don Carlos* of Ximenez de Enciso," *Modern Language Notes*, XXII [Dec. 1907], pp. 238–241) showed that the version of 1773 is based on a manuscript by Cañizares. It should be noted that Adolf Schaeffer (*Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas*, I [Leipzig, 1890], 400) anticipated the discovery made seventeen years later by Crawford. Speaking of the later version, Schaeffer remarks "dass dagegen die Ueberarbeitung (wahrscheinlich von anderer Hand, vielleicht von Cañizares) unsers Wissens nur in dem Einzeldruck Valencia 1773 vorkommt."

Schaeffer, in translating Enciso's drama (no. 95), utilizes the tragic ending of the final scene in the version of Cañizares. Carlos is not miraculously cured (as in Enciso's version), but dies in a fever — the result of his own excesses.

20. FRANCESCO BECATTINI, *Don Carlos Principe di Spagna*, 1774.

The play, in a manuscript at the Biblioteca di Parma, has the date February 22, 1774. A short description may be found in Ezio Levi's article "Gli Antecedenti del *Filippo* dell' Alfieri" (in the *Rassegna Bibliographica della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. XXI, no. 12, pp. 347–357).

The day after the marriage of Philip to Isabella the King's special agent, Duke Alba, arrests Carlos for plotting with Egmont to aid the rebels in Flanders. The King asks the advice of a grand council of nobles. Opinions are divided, but the final decision is in favor of the death sentence.

Becattini's drama is apparently the first Italian treatment of the Don Carlos theme; it was written nine years before the publication of Alfieri's *Filippo* (no. 22) and ten years before the publication of Pepoli's *La Gelosia Snaturata* (no. 24). It is doubtful whether Alfieri and Pepoli, when they wrote their plays, had any knowledge of the existence of Becattini's.

21. PIERRE FRANÇOIS ALEXANDRE LEFÈVRE, *Elizabeth de France*. Accepted by the Comédie Française in 1781.

Owing to the opposition of the Spanish ambassador, the play was not produced until two years later, when it was given the new title of *Don Carlos*. It will be discussed in more detail under no. 23. The fate of *Elizabeth de France* is humorously described in the following passages.

Rousselière says (p. 25):

> La permission d'exposer son ouvrage aux applaudissements ou aux sifflets du parterre vient d'être refusée à M. Lefèvre. . . . Son *Elizabeth de France* a été renvoyée par le censeur ordinaire au jugement de M. lieutenant de police, — par M. lieutenant de police à M. le garde des sceaux, — par M. le garde des sceaux à M. de Vergennes, ministre des affaires étrangères — et par celui-ci à M. comte d'Aranda, ambassadeur d'Espagne. Le comte d'Aranda obtint que la pièce ne serait pas jouée publiquement. Elle ne le fut que sur un théâtre particulier.

Madame de Staël (*De l'Allemagne*, Pt. 2, chap. 17) is also caustic in her remarks about the attitude of the Spanish ambassador:

> Plusieurs écrivains ont traité ce sujet en France; mais on n'a pu, dans l'ancien régime, le mettre sur le théâtre; on croyait que c'était manquer

d'égards à l'Espagne que de répresenter ce fait de son histoire. On demandait à M. d'Aranda, cet ambassadeur d'Espagne connu par tant de traits qui prouvent la force de son caractère et les bornes de son esprit, la permission de faire jouer une tragédie de *Don Carlos*, que l'auteur venait d'achever, et dont il espérait une grande gloire. "Que ne prend-il un autre sujet?" répondit M. d'Aranda. — Monsieur l'ambassadeur, lui disait-on, faites attention que la pièce est terminée, que l'auteur y a consacré trois ans de sa vie. — Mais, mon Dieu, reprenait l'ambassadeur, n'y a-t-il donc que ces événements dans l'histoire? Qu'il en choisisse un autre. — Jamais on ne put le faire sortir de cet ingénieux raisonnement, qu'appuyait une volonté forte.

22. VITTORIO ALFIERI, *Filippo II*, Siena, 1783.

Alfieri, well-known Italian writer of tragedies, lived from 1749 to 1803. As he himself states in his *Vita*, his *Filippo II* (which was first written in French) is based on St. Réal's story.

The plot is singularly concise. There are only six principal characters — Philip, the Queen, Carlos, and three grandees (Gómez, Pérez, Leonardo). As in St. Réal's account, Carlos is in love with his stepmother and former fiancée; also, he is in sympathy with the rebels of the Netherlands. Pérez, who corresponds in a way to Schiller's Posa, is murdered by the King's orders. In the last scene Philip decrees that Carlos shall die. He offers the Prince a choice between poison and dagger. Carlos chooses the latter, and stabs himself. Philip decides that his wife is to continue to live, but she tears the dagger from her husband's hand and stabs herself.

Alfieri's drama is undoubtedly one of the most important treatments of the Carlos theme. Of grim interest is the bloodthirstiness that the author attributes to Philip. Carlyle states bluntly: "Alfieri's Filippo is perhaps the most wicked man that human imagination has conceived." Of interest, too, is Carlyle's comparison of the methods of Schiller and of Alfieri in their treatments of the theme: "The mind of one is like the ocean, beautiful in its strength, smiling in the radiance of summer, and washing luxuriant and romantic shores; that of the other is like some black unfathomable lake placed far amid the melancholy mountains; bleak, solitary, desolate; but girdled with grim sky-piercing cliffs, overshadowed with storms, and illuminated only by the red glare of the lightning. Schiller is magnificent in his expansion, Alfieri is overpowering in his condensed energy; the first inspires us with the greater admiration, the last with the greater awe." (*Life of Friedrich Schiller* [London, 1825], p. 123).

23. Don Carlos. *Tragédie de M. Le Fèvre, lecteur et secrétaire ordinaire de S. A. E. Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans, premier prince du sang, représentée en 1783 par les Acteurs de la Comédie Françoise sur le théâtre de Son Altesse Sérénissime*, Bruxelles, 1784.

In 1781 Lefèvre's *Elizabeth de France* was accepted by the French Academy, but was not produced, owing to the objections of the Spanish ambassador (no. 21). Lefèvre made changes in the drama; under the new title, *Don Carlos*, it was played twice at the private theatre of the Duke of Orleans. In 1820, seven years after the death of Lefèvre (1741–1813), it was produced publicly for the first time (at the Odéon). The play is included in M. Petitot's *Répertoire du Théâtre François* (vol. VI, Paris, 1817) with an account of the author and a short criticism of the play.

Lefèvre's Preface of about three pages, largely taken up with a discussion of Campistron's *Andronic*, begins with the statement: "Les particularités de la vie et de la mort de don Carlos sont entre les mains de tout le monde," and ends with the following tribute to the appeal made by the Don Carlos theme: "*Andronic* a eu quarante représentations de suite; et certainement le succès d'*Andronic* n'étoit que le succès du sujet: nul homme de lettres n'en doute aujourd'hui."

Lefèvre's drama contains about two thousand lines, is written in rhymed Alexandrines, and is divided into five acts. The principal characters are Philip, Elizabeth, Carlos, Alba, Gómez, Lerma, Don Fernand (an emissary of the Flemish people and disguised as one of Philip's guards), Eugenie (a French attendant of the Queen). Carlos and the Queen are suspected by the King, courtiers assure the King that his wife and his son are in love, the King learns that Carlos has sent a letter to the Queen, and decides that Carlos must die. Finally, when the King actually reads the letter, he realizes that Carlos had planned to flee to the Netherlands in order to defend his father's interests. The King exclaims: "Qu'ai-je lu? Chaque mot les absout et m'accuse." His repentance, however, has come too late. A curtain is drawn aside at the back of the stage, and Carlos, a dagger at his feet, appears bleeding and dying. He forgives his father, and exhorts Elizabeth to live. As he dies, Elizabeth falls at his feet. She dies of despair. The play ends with the words of the King:

> O ma femme! o mon fils! innocentes victimes!
> Mais puisque c'en est fait et qu'il me faut régner,
> Cachons à l'univers que j'ai dû pardonner.

These lines, like the whole of the drama, show that Lefèvre was able to improve upon the model that he seems ever to have had before him — Campistron's *Andronic.*

24. ALESSANDRO PEPOLI, *La Gelosia Snaturata o sia D. Carlo, Infante di Spagna; Tragedia. Con tre lettere sopra le quattro prime tragedie del Conte Alfieri, la prima della quali è la proposta del Conte Pepoli al Sig. Raineri de' Calsabigi, la seconda è la riposta del suddetto, e l'ultima la contra risposta del primo coll' offerta della presente tragedia*, Napoli, 1784.

One of the severest critics of Alfieri's works was Alessandro Pepoli of Bologna (1758–96). He was convinced that he could write a better drama than Alfieri's *Filippo* (no. 22), and published his *La Gelosia Snaturata* a year after the appearance of Alfieri's drama. Pepoli's work, as was to be expected, called forth ridicule on the part of Alfieri.

The play is comparatively short (74 pages), and has only eight characters — Filippo, Carlo, Elisabetta, Alva, Gómez, Montigni, Don Giovanni, and Eleonora. The first four acts take place in the royal palace at Madrid and the fifth act in prison. Curiously enough, the stage directions are given in footnotes and in an "Avvertimento agli attori" of six pages following the list of characters and preceding the text of the play.

Pepoli's Philip is far more humane than Alfieri's; in fact, in Pepoli's play the King hesitates to condemn Carlos and the Queen until the arch-conspirators, Alva and Don Giovanni, convince Philip that his throne is in danger. Alva reads to Carlos and Elisabetta the sentence that the King has pronounced; he hesitates to shed blood, but they must die nevertheless. Although the lines of the play are rather obscure, Pepoli's directions are not: the prison is to be blown up, and the prisoners are to be buried under the ruins. In the "Avvertimento" (pp. 113–114) Pepoli describes how the catastrophe is to be brought about.

> Lo scoppio non potrà essere espresso che da tre o quattro carabine caricate a semplice polvere, e sparate al di sotto del palco. . . . In quanto poi alla rovina essa deve esseguirsi col precipizio della finte volte, e pareti anteriori, e formare un ammasso, che riempia il dinanzi della Scena, e acceni già sepolti i due amanti, che si trovano dietro di questo ammasso naturalmente nascosti.

There is a copy of Pepoli's play in the Harvard University Library.

25. LOUIS-SEBASTIEN MERCIER, *Portrait de Philippe II, Roi d'Espagne*, Amsterdam, 1785.

This drama, written in prose, tells the traditional story of Don Carlos in fifty-two loosely connected scenes (the play is not divided into acts). These scenes, however, can be divided into five unequal groups which deal respectively with (1) the love of Carlos for Elizabeth and the King's concern about his wife and son; (2) the description of the *auto-da-fé* which the members of the Court attend; (3) the political plans and schemes of Philip II; (4) the arrest, condemnation, and death of Carlos (he is turned over to the Inquisition); and (5) the death of the Queen (she is poisoned by order of the King).

The two chief sources followed by Mercier are St. Réal's novelette and Robert Watson's *The History of the Reign of Philip the Second, King of Spain* (London, 1777) (a French translation of which also appeared in 1777). Like some other dramatists (particularly Alfieri), Mercier depicts Philip in the darkest colors. The King is represented as a hypocrite and cruel monster. Carlos, on the other hand, is imbued with all the idealistic aspirations of the latter part of the eighteenth century. Dulong (II, 122) remarks dryly: "D. Carlos, cela est clair, a lu avec profit Bayle, Voltaire et l'Encyclopédie."

Mercier's drama is of interest because Schiller translated the Introduction (*Précis historique*), and published it in his *Thalia* (Heft 2 [1786], pp. 71–104) in connection with the earliest version of the first three acts of his own *Don Carlos*. It is doubtful whether Schiller owes much to Mercier; he had read St. Réal and Watson before he translated Mercier's Introduction.

26. DER UNGLÜCKLICHE DON CARLOS, EINE WAHRE GESCHICHTE ZUR WARNUNG FÜR HÖFLINGE. *Nach dem französischen frei bearbeitet*, Leipzig und Wien, 1786. Other editions, 1787, 1795.

This is again a version of St. Réal's story, and, as in so many other cases, the unnamed author is willing to let the public believe that his account is original with him. (See August Hettler, *Schillers Dramen. Eine Bibliographie* [Berlin, 1885]; also Goedeke, *Grundriss*, V, 2, ¶ 253, 11.)

27. FRIEDRICH SCHILLER, *Dom Karlos, Infant von Spanien. Ein dramatisches Gedicht*, Leipzig, 1787.

Other editions appeared in 1799, 1801, 1804, 1805. In the edition of 1801 the form "Dom" was changed to "Don"; recent editions, particularly the "Säkular Ausgabe," employ the spelling "Carlos" instead of "Karlos."

The earliest version of the first three acts (stopping at the end of Act III, Scene ix) appeared in the *Thalia* between 1785 and 1787, and contained four thousand one hundred and forty lines. The first complete version of 1787 had six thousand two hundred and eighty-two lines; the version of 1801 had five thousand four hundred and forty-eight lines; that of 1805, the basis of later reprints, had five thousand three hundred and seventy.

Schiller's most important source is undoubtedly St. Réal's *Dom Carlos, Nouvelle Historique*; this is indicated by Schiller's own statements in the "Vorrede in der Rheinischen Thalia" and in numerous references in his *Briefe über Don Carlos*. Other sources are Robert Watson's *History of the Reign of Philip II*, Ferreras's history of Spain, Gregorio Leti's life of Philip.

In a letter to Reinwald (April 14, 1783) Schiller states that his *Don Carlos* has its soul from Shakspere's *Hamlet*, the blood and nerves from Leisewitz's *Julius von Tarent*, and its pulse from Schiller himself. Other literary influences can be readily detected — other plays of Shakspere's (especially *Othello*), Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* and *Emilia Galotti*, some of the classical dramas by Corneille and Racine, Montesquieu's *L'Esprit des Lois*. Some commentators are fairly convinced that Schiller was acquainted with Otway's *Don Carlos* and with Campistron's *Andronic*; Schiller, who never hesitated to acknowledge his indebtedness to others, mentions neither of these authors.

Schiller's drama is the best known, and likewise one of the most important, treatments of the Don Carlos theme. What impresses one most is Schiller's intuition that the popular ideas about King Philip must be revised — that Philip is a sincere, even though misguided, human being, and not a cruel monster. Schiller's Carlos, on the other hand, differs in every respect from the historical Carlos; Schiller follows St. Réal in depicting the Prince in love with his former fiancée, now his father's bride. This element in the story appealed strongly to almost all those that treated the theme.

Aside from the various editions of Schiller's play in blank verse, there are four prose versions — Br and Bs (the so-called Pérez versions, in which insults to Catholicism are avoided), and Ba and Bd (known as the Domingo versions). In the blank verse editions and in the prose version Br, Carlos is turned over to the Inquisition; in Ba, Bd, and Bs, Carlos stabs himself. All of Schiller's versions have a catastrophe different from that in St. Réal, where Carlos opens his veins in the bath.

28. DOM KARLOS, INFANT VON SPANIEN. *Trauerspiel in 5 Aufzügen, für die Bühne bearbeitet von B — l und B — r*, Augsburg, 1790.

This play is contained in volume VI (Zweiter Jahrgang) of the *Deutsche Schaubühne*. This collection of plays may be found in the British Museum. A set has been recently acquired by the Harvard University Library.

For many reasons this version of the theme is one of the most interesting. It is the only one, for example, in which King Philip stabs his own son.

The list of characters differs from Schiller's in that the Countess Fuentes, the Grand Inquisitor, and the Prior of the Carthusian monastery are omitted. Act I has eight scenes instead of nine. Act II, which has twelve scenes instead of fifteen, substitutes for Schiller's line (spoken by Domingo) "Trotz sei geboten allen Königen" a line spoken by Alba, "Trotz sei geboten dem mutigen Knaben und der schönen Französinn," — thus omitting Scenes xiii, xiv, and xv of Schiller's play. Act III has nine scenes instead of ten; it introduces, after the soliloquy of the King, a scene between Karlos and Posa, and it excludes Schiller's ninth scene and the soliloquy of Posa. Act IV, with seventeen scenes instead of twenty-four, excludes Scenes i–vi, viii, xiv, and xxiv. Act V, with ten scenes instead of eleven, omits Scene vii, makes two scenes of Schiller's Scene ix, and omits Scene x (the King's interview with the Grand Inquisitor).

At the end of the play the Queen sinks into Karlos's arms. Then follows the tragic stage direction, "König zieht rasch sein Schwert, und ersticht seinen Sohn," whereupon Karlos falls, then cries out "Gott! rettet die Königin! sie ist unschuldig!" and dies. The final stage directions are: "Die Königin ohnmächtig — alle Granden in Bewegung — der König lässt das Schwert sinken — Der Vorhang fällt." It is difficult to imagine a more forceful and tragic ending.

29. ISABELLA: *Tragedia di Gaetano Fedele Polidori da Bientina, Londra, dai torchi di A. Grant, No. 91, Wardour Street, Soho, MDCCXC* [1790].

Polidori was for a number of years secretary to Alfieri. In 1789 he became involved in revolutionary schemes in Paris, and received from

Alfieri a letter full of reproaches. Thereupon he went to London, where he lived until his death in 1835.

In 1790 Polidori published his tragedy *Isabella*, a copy of which, along with a friendly letter, he sent to Alfieri. The latter never replied. The reason for Alfieri's silence is not difficult to understand. Polidori had largely plagiarized Alfieri's *Filippo II* (no. 22). This is brought out clearly by Ezio Levi (*Il Principe Don Carlos nella Leggenda e nella Poesia* [Rome, 1924], pp. 347–349).

The end of Polidori's drama is tragic. Carlos, in prison, stabs himself with a dagger which is offered to him by Isabella. Isabella thereupon drinks a vial of poison.

30. ALESSANDRO PEPOLI, *Carlo ed Isabella. Tragedia*, Parma, 1792.

This play is a revision of *La Gelosia Snaturata* (no. 24), the presentations of which, though praised in the main, had been criticized unfavorably on account of the "terribile scoppio della mina col precipizio del carcere." One of Pepoli's friends, the Abbot Cesarotti, in a letter of September 15, 1791 (quoted by Pepoli in the Preface of *Carlo ed Isabella*) commented enthusiastically on the effectiveness of the final scenes in Pepoli's earlier play.

In *Carlo ed Isabella* Gómez is substituted for Alba in the final scene, the character of the King and the malicious motives of the conspirators are brought out more clearly, the music that closes the acts is revised, and the scenery rearranged. In deference to Cesarotti, however, the incomprehensible catastrophe — the blowing-up of the prison — is retained.

Pepoli was not inclined to underestimate his own importance. In the Preface to his revised drama he puts the question of his future fame as follows:

> Altro a dir non mi resta, se non che il solo io non sono fra gli Italiani viventi che abbia trasportato al teatro questo argomento.
>
> Uno fra noi vi sarà meglio riuscito.
>
> Qual egli sia, tocca a voi giudicare.

31. DOM KARLOS LEBEN UND ENDE NACH DER WAHREN GESCHICHTE, Wien, 1795.

Again we have a version of St. Réal's tale, and again the anonymous adaptor of the French story seems to be willing to pass off the German adaptation as his own. (See Goedeke, *Grundriss*, V, 2, ¶ 253, 11.)

32. GESCHICHTE DES SPANISCHEN INFANTEN DON CARLOS, Hof, 1795.

The unnamed author mentions in his Preface his sources — essentially the same that St. Réal cites in the footnotes of his story. The author admits his indebtedness to St. Réal: "Der Verfasser wählte den Gang der Erzählung den dieser [St. Réal] befolgt, weil er es war, bey dem er die Anzeige jener Quellen fand, und der auch selbst diese Geschichte sehr schön bearbeitete."

In the Preface the author mentions also a book that he had the good fortune of seeing in Vienna — found among the writings that the Emperor Charles VI brought from Madrid and probably written by a so-called heretic who was burned at the stake. This book contains a severe arraignment of the Grand Inquisitor Espinosa.

The book, while admittedly following St. Réal, is not a translation. Frequently the author paraphrases his source, and the material of the original has been expanded. A copy of the book (it contains 191 pages) may be found in the British Museum.

33. ANONYMOUS ENGLISH VERSION, 1795.

The *Biographica Dramatica* states that the first English translation of Schiller's drama was published in 1795, but it does not give the name of the translator. A reviewer of an English translation of *Fiesco* (*Monthly Review*, II [1795], 311) seems to imply that the translation of *Don Carlos* is by the same person who translated *Fiesco*; he goes on to say that *Don Carlos* is quite an epic poem in dialogue, and he hopes that other pieces of the Germans will be naturalized by the same hand.

Since a copy of the 1795 version is not available, one has difficulty in deciding whether it is to be listed as a translation or an adaptation. The author of the 1822 version (no. 53) states in his Preface (p. x) that the subject of the tragedy has been often treated; then he mentions among others "an anonymous writer of 1795." This seems to indicate that the 1795 version is an original treatment or an adaptation, probably the latter.

34. WILLIAM DUNLAP, *Don Carlos*. An adaptation of Schiller's drama of the same name. Played at the Park Theatre, New York, May 6, 1799.

Dunlap, who lived from 1766 to 1839, wrote and adapted for the stage at least sixty-six plays; of these, thirty are in print, thirty-six are not. Among the latter is *Don Carlos*. (See Oscar Wegelin, *Early American*

Plays, 1714–1830 [New York, 1900]; Joseph N. Ireland, *Records of the New York Stage from 1750–1860*, 2 vols. [New York, 1866–67].)

Dunlap's *Don Carlos* is of greatest interest. It had only one production — the only time that *Don Carlos* was produced in English, either in England or in America, from the publication of Schiller's play in 1787 until the performance of Mansfield's version in 1905 (see no. 104).

Ireland (I, 285) gives the following notice:

> May 6, [1799]. First time, Dunlap's adaptation of Schiller's *Don Carlos*:

Philip II	Mr. Fennell
Don Carlos	Mr. Cooper
Marquis Posa	Mr. Martin
Duke of Alva	Mr. Hallam, Jr.
Count Lerma	Mr. Tyler
Duke of Feria	Mr. Miller
Dominick	Mr. Hogg
Prior	Mr. Perkins
Princess of Eboli	Miss E. Westray
Duchess	Miss Hogg
Marchioness	Miss White
Elizabeth	Miss Barrett

The play was a failure and never repeated.

A comparison of Dunlap's list of characters with Schiller's shows that Dunlap omitted the following: Farnese, Clara Eugenia, Fuentes, Medina Sidonia, Taxis, the Grand Inquisitor, and Mercado. Apparently the Inquisition plays little or no part in the drama.

Dunlap's adaptation must have been made hastily, for it was to be played as one of the benefit performances for the members of the company at the Park Theatre in New York at the end of the season of 1799. In connection with the production of the play on May 6, Dunlap announced: "Last night of performing for the benefit of the Lessee, the parties in whose name the bill of the night is made out, being hereafter alone responsible."

G. C. D. Odell (*Annals of the New York Stage*, II [New York, 1927], 55) has the following to say:

> Dunlap took a benefit on May 6th, providing a wretched performance of Don Carlos. . . . Dunlap says humorously that "this voluminous poem" the manager "curtailed, and it was more curtailed in the performance. The receipts were 676 dollars. It was not repeated. It was unmercifully shorn of its beams." With this performance Dunlap withdrew for the season.

I have been unable to find a trace of any manuscript of Dunlap's adaptation.

35. DON CARLOS. *An opera. Music by Prospero D. Deshayes.* Produced in Paris in 1800.

See Carlo Dassori, *Opere e Operisti* (*Dizionario Lirico*, 1541–1902), Genova, 1913. Dassori cites 3628 composers and 15406 operas. This opera is also listed by James Towers (*Dictionary-Catalogue of Operas and Operettas which have been performed on the Public Stage* [Morgantown, W. Va., 1910]).

As in the case of other operatic treatments of the theme (nos. 62, 63, 67, 69, 72, 77), I have been unable to find any trace of the libretto.

36. DON CARLOS, INFANT OF SPAIN. *A Tragedy in five acts. Translated from the German of Frederick Schiller. By Benjamin Thompson, Esq. London, 1801.*

I list this version (it is in prose) as an adaptation for two reasons: the renderings are free and rather tame, and the arrangement of the scenes differs from Schiller's. Thompson numbers his acts, but not his scenes. Whereas Schiller has sixty-nine scenes in all, Thompson has only nineteen (two in the first act, five in the second, three in the third, six in the fourth, and three in the fifth; see remarks on no. 82).

Two examples will suffice to show Thompson's colorless way of translating. The last lines of the first act of Schiller's drama ("Arm in Arm mit dir, So fordr' ich mein Jahrhundert in die Schranken") are translated by Thompson: "Arm in arm with you, I bid defiance to temptation and to danger." The famous phrase in Act II, Scene ii ("Dreiundzwanzig Jahre, und nichts für die Unsterblichkeit getan!") becomes in Thompson "I am three and twenty years of age, and hitherto have been inactive."

There is a copy of this book in the British Museum.

37. JOHANN WILHELM ROSE, *Carlos und Elizabeth. Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen*, Leipzig, 1802.

The characters are Philip, Elizabeth, Carlos, Rui Gómez de Sylva, Don Juan of Austria, Spinola, Don Raymond, Pérez, Lerma, and an officer. It will be noted that several important characters of Schiller's drama are omitted — Eboli, Posa, Alba, and Domingo.

The play covers one hundred and fifty-four pages, is written in blank verse, and contains two thousand seven hundred and seventy lines (about half the length of Schiller's play). Posa had been sacrificed before the opening of the play. Carlos had been engaged to Elizabeth, but the King had married her instead. Carlos had been denied permission to go to Flanders except under Alba as commander. Various letters are found (as in Schiller), Carlos is suspected of disloyalty, is condemned to death, is allowed to select the method of dying, and chooses poison. Elizabeth comes to Carlos after he has taken the fatal draught, and he dies in her arms.

There is a copy of the play in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.

38. M. WESTERMANN. A Dutch adaptation of Schiller's *Don Carlos*, 1802.

See Goedeke, V, 2, ¶ 253, 9a. I have been unable to find a copy of this adaptation.

39. MANUEL JOSÉ QUINTANA, *El Panteón de Escorial*. Dated April, 1805.

Quintana lived from 1772 to 1857. The above poem (it may be found on page 25 of the volume on Quintana in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* [Madrid, 1852]) contains about three hundred lines, and consists of a series of comments on past events by various historical characters — Don Carlos, Isabel de Valois, Philip II, Philip III, Philip IV, Charles II, and the Emperor Charles V.

40. PHILIPS DE TWEEDE, KONING VAN SPANJE; TREURSPEL. *Naar het Fransch Gefolgd. Door den Herr Mr. M. Straalman*, Te Amsteldam, MDCCCVI [1806].

A Preface ("Aan myne Landen Stadgenooten") states that inasmuch as the author's first two plays (dealing with Greek subjects) had been received favorably, a third play — especially as it touches on the history of the Netherlands — might not be unwelcome. Since the Netherlands had suffered under Philip and had prospered under the House of Orange, the author presents this play in honor of the liberation of his country.

Nowhere in the Preface is there any reference to the French source (the title page simply contains the phrase "naar het Fransch gefolgd"). An interesting clue has made easy the solution of the riddle. After Carlos's name in the list of characters there is an asterisk with a footnote stating that "Karel was geboren uit het eerste huwelyk van Philips de tweede, zynde gehuwd geweest met Marie, dochter van Jan de Derde, koning van Portugal." In the drama on the Carlos theme by Ximenès (no. 17) is found a similar footnote: "Don Carlos était né du premier mariage de Philippe Second avec Marie fille de Jean III, Roi de Portugal."

Comparison of the French drama and the Dutch shows that Straalman followed Ximenès fairly closely. Both dramas are written in rhymed Alexandrines. It should be remembered that the name of Ximenès did not appear on the title page of his drama, hence Straalman could hardly be blamed for simply using the phrase "naar het Fransch gefolgd."

There is a copy of Straalman's play in the British Museum.

41. LUDWIG TIECK, *Der neue Don Carlos. Posse in drei Akten*, 1807 or 1808.

The manuscript of the play (it has never been published) is in the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin. It contains a parody of Schiller's play and was written to be performed on the birthday of Tieck's daughter Agnes.

The plot is not deep. A certain official, Herr Einfalt, refuses to allow his daughter Röschen to marry a worthy fellow named Kaspar. A friend of the family persuades Einfalt to dig for treasure, and on this occasion causes the ghost of the deceased Frau Einfalt to appear. The ghost commands Einfalt to consent to the marriage.

Meanwhile there appears in town a traveling company of actors, the director of which finally secures permission to perform the "moral-philosophical" play *Don Carlos*. In the fourth scene of the third act of Tieck's play we find the beginning of the parody of Schiller's. A few lines of this scene will suffice:

DOMINGO: Die schönen Tage von Charlottenburg sind nun vorüber; und wir sind umsonst hier gewesen.

DON CARLOS: Was schleicht mir nur der Kerl so nach? Hältst Maul, Mönch! —

DOMINGO: Mein Prinz, wenn meine Dienste —

DON CARLOS: Kurz und gut, ich will allein sein. — (Domingo ab.) O wie erschrecklich schrecklich schwermütig bin ich! Ja, wohl ist solche Schwärmerei ohne Rat! Wen seh' ich da? Wie, seh' ich recht? Rodrigo kommt von seinen Reisen wieder?

Tieck's play ends happily for all concerned. Herr Einfalt marries one of the actresses.

42. FRANZ GRILLPARZER, *Blanka von Kastilien. Ein Trauerspiel in fünf Akten*. Written in 1808 and 1809.

In 1806, when Grillparzer was fifteen years old, he became deeply interested in Schiller's dramas. In his "Selbstbiographie" (Sauer's edition of Grillparzer's works, XIX, 37 ff.), Grillparzer indicates how greatly he was impressed by Schiller's Don Carlos:

> Um diese Zeit waren mir auch die ersten Dramen Schillers in die Hände gekommen, *Die Räuber*, *Kabale und Liebe* — *Fiesko* hatte ich aufführen gesehen — und *Don Karlos*. Das letztere Stück entzückte mich, und ich ging daran, auch ein Trauerspiel zu schreiben. Ich wählte dazu aus der Geschichte Peters des Grausamen die Ermordung seiner Gattin, Blanka von Kastilien, und diese letztere gab den Titel her. Ich übereilte mich nicht und schrieb ziemlich lange daran, wobei ich immer den *Don Karlos* im Auge hatte, mit dem es übrigens auch zwei Fehler gemein hatte, dass ich nämlich in der Mitte des Stückes am Plan änderte und es so ungeheuer lang geriet, dass man gut zwei volle Abende daran zu spielen gehabt hätte.

Blanka von Kastilien is written mainly in iambic pentameter, and is almost as long as Schiller's *Don Carlos*. (*Blanka*, in its final draft, has 5125 lines; *Don Carlos* has 5370.) The three principal characters of the play are Don Pedro, King of Castile, Blanka of Bourbon, his wife, and Fedriko de Sussmann, a natural brother of the King's. Blanka and Fedriko were in love before the King's marriage to Blanka; Blanka, a victim of the schemes of diplomacy, had been married against her wishes. The King distrusts them both and finally has them murdered.

How greatly Grillparzer was influenced by Schiller's dramas, especially by *Don Carlos*, is shown conclusively by O. E. Lessing (*Schillers Einfluss auf Grillparzer* [Madison, Wisconsin, 1902], pp. 103–162).

43. HISTORIA DEL PRINCIPE DON CARLOS HIJO PRIMOGÉNITO DEL REY DE ESPAÑA PHELIPE II Y DE DOÑA MARÍA DE PORTUGAL. *Nueva editión*, Leipsich, 1810.

There is no indication as to what editions preceded this one. The story contains the familiar motives found in St. Réal, who was undoubtedly the chief source. The story proper (it contains 135 small pages) is followed by thirty pages of "Adiciones de un Autor Anonymo a la Historia Antecedente." Apparently the author of this work, like so many others, was unwilling to admit that he followed St. Réal.

The only copy of the work that I have been able to find is in the British Museum.

44. FRANÇOIS ISIDORE LIQUET, *Phillippe II, tragédie en cinq actes, en vers*, Rouen, 1813.

Liquet was director of the public library of Rouen and president of the Royal Academy of that city. His play was produced on February 1, 1813, at the Théâtre des Arts. According to Dulong (II, 139) it is an imitation of Alfieri's drama.

Rousselière (p. 26 of his Introduction) says: "M. Liquet n'eut pas, semble-t-il, beaucoup à se réjouir devoir sa pièce jouée au théâtre de Rouen (1813)."

Dulong gives the author's name as "François-Isidore Liquet"; Rousselière gives it "Th. Liquet."

45. LORD BYRON, *Parisina.* Dedication dated January 22, 1816.

In editions of Byron's collected works the poem is usually printed under the heading "Tales"; it has five hundred and eighty-six lines, divided into twenty irregular sections and written mainly in rhymed iambic tetrameter. In the advertisement Byron says:

> The following poem is grounded on a circumstance mentioned in Gibbon's "Antiquities of the House of Brunswick." I am aware, that in modern times, the delicacy or fastidiousness of the reader may deem such subjects unfit for the purposes of poetry. The Greek dramatists, and some of the best of our English writers, were of a different opinion: as Alfieri and Schiller have also been, more recently on the Continent. The following extract will explain the facts on which the story is founded. The name Azo is substituted for Nicholas as more metrical. (B.)
>
> "Under the reign of Nicholas III (A.D. 1425) Ferrara was polluted with a domestic tragedy. By the testimony of a maid, and his own observation, the Marquis of Este discovered the incestuous loves of his wife Parisina, and Hugo his bastard son, a beautiful and valiant youth. They were beheaded in the castle by the sentence of the father and husband, who published his shame, and survived their execution. He was unfortunate, if they were guilty; if they were innocent, he was still more unfortunate; nor is there any possible situation, in which I can sincerely approve the last act of the justice of a parent." — Gibbon's *Miscellaneous Works*, III, 470. (Ed. 1837, p. 830.)

Three reasons may be adduced to show that Byron had Schiller's *Don Carlos* in mind: in the first place, he mentions Schiller in his Introduction; secondly, in Byron's poem (as in Schiller's drama) only the son is punished; thirdly, in Byron's poem (as in Schiller) the son maintains that the stepmother was originally intended for him. This is brought out in lines 252–256 (in which the son, just before his execution, addresses the father):

'Tis true that I have done thee wrong —
  But wrong for wrong — this, — deemed thy bride
  The other victim of thy pride, —
Thou know'st for me was destined long;
Thou saw'st and coveted'st her charms.

46. Marie Joseph Chénier, *Philippe II. Tragédie en cinq actes*, Paris, 1818.

The editor of Chénier's *Oeuvres*, in which the play was first published, remarks that it had been offered to the Théâtre Français at least fifteen years before, but had never been performed. Chénier was apparently not in good favor during the Napoleonic régime.

The drama is skillfully put together. It opens with a scene in which Alba, who has just returned from the Netherlands to deliver a report, intimates that the Queen and Carlos are in love, and that Carlos is in sympathy with the revolt in Flanders. The King at first has faith in Carlos's loyalty, although he admits that his son and his wife love one another. As the play develops, however, the King is gradually convinced by courtiers and by the Inquisitor Spinola that Carlos is guilty of treason. It is finally decided that Carlos is to die of poison. As he drinks the fatal goblet, the Queen appears, and reproaches Carlos for not letting her drink part of the poison. The King enters just in time to hear Carlos's dying words:

Pardonnons . . . O mon père . . . au nom de mes malheurs,
Rendez la reine . . . heureuse, et vos sujets . . . je meurs.

Although Chénier follows the tradition, to which St. Réal gave the impetus, that the Queen and Carlos are in love, he seems to lean on later treatments of the theme, rather than on St. Réal. Frequently his lines remind one of Schiller and of Mercier, and the final words of pardon are not unlike Otway and Lefèvre.

47. Philippe II. *Tragédie en cinq actes et en vers. Par J.-B. Daumier (de Marseille)*, Paris, 1819.

In the Preface Daumier states that his source was St. Réal. When he undertook the task of writing the drama, he knew so little about dramatic literature that he was unacquainted even with the names of Schiller and Alfieri; the first treatment of the theme to come to his attention was the one by Campistron; but by that time he was writing the third act of his own drama. He expresses great admiration for Racine's style.

The characters are Philip, Elizabeth, Gómez, Spinosa, Palmèse (a friend of Carlos's who is the counterpart of Posa), Elvire (confidante of the Queen), Alvarès (captain of the guards).

The play is written in rhymed Alexandrines, extends over sixty-eight pages, contains about fifteen hundred lines, and is divided into five acts. Carlos stabs himself; the Queen takes poison.

Referring to Daumier's play, Rousselière (page 26 of his Introduction) makes the interesting statement: "M. Daumier, en 1819, ne put faire representer la sienne." (See remarks under no. 76.)

There is a copy of Daumier's drama in the British Museum.

48. DE DOOD VAN KAREL, KRONPRINS VAN SPANJE. *Treurspel, in vijf Bedrijven*, Amsterdam, 1820.

The anonymous author states in the "Voorberigt" (dated December 3, 1819) that the story of Don Carlos deserves a dramatic treatment in Dutch, and that in the preceding year he had begun the task of writing a drama. Meanwhile he had got hold of Chénier's drama on the same subject (it was published in 1818), had realized its excellent features, followed it in many respects, and adopted (though not literally) the fifth act. The author makes clear, however, that his work is not a translation or adaptation of Chénier's. The treatment of characters, particularly of the Cardinal Spinola, is different.

The characters are Philip, Elizabeth, Carlos, Spinola, Gomes de Silva (Prince of Eboli), Joan van Glimes (Margrave of Bergen), Floris van Montmorencij (Lord of Montignij). The play consists of eighty pages containing about eighteen hundred rhymed Alexandrines. Carlos commits suicide by taking poison. The last lines of the play are spoken by Elizabeth; she vows that she will follow Carlos into death and be united to him.

On pages 47 and 48 of the drama the author mentions among Flemish citizens the name of one of his own friends — Hendrik van Stralen.

There is a copy of the play in the British Museum.

49. Ch. MALINAS, *Don Carlos, infant d'Espagne*, Nantes, 1820.

Rousselière (page 26) makes the terse statement: "M. Malinas paraît n'avoir obtenu d'autre notorieté que celle d'une édition faite à Nantes (1820)."

Dulong, while admitting that this is one of the treatments destined to obscurity, summarizes the plot briefly (II, 139).

Cette tragédie quasi illisible offre l'originalité de débuter par l'arrestation de D. Carlos, seule partie de la pièce où se monstrent encore quelques souvenirs directs de Saint-Réal. On apprend ensuite que D. Carlos est marié à une protestante, nommée Isabelle, et qu'il a eu plusieurs enfants, que la reine Elizabeth est morte depuis quelques années et que le roi lui-même est remarié. On assiste à l'échec d'une conjuration ourdie par un certain Garcie pour sauver le prince, et l'on entend celui-ci, dans un entretien avec l'évêque Las Casas, formuler les plus purs principes du déisme et de tolérance.

50. A FRENCH DRAMA ON THE DON CARLOS THEME. By Raynouard, 1820(?).

Dulong (II, 140) refers to Raynouard's work as one "dont parlent en 1820 tous les feuilletonnistes en rendant compte de celui de Lefèvre, et qui paraît n'avoir jamais vu le jour." I have been unable to find any other reference to this drama.

51. DON CARLOS, PRINCE ROYAL OF SPAIN. *A tragedy, translated and altered from the German, and adapted for the English stage by Simon Sabba*, Paris, 1821.

Sabba's drama is an adaptation of Schiller's, for it is cited by August Hettler (*Schillers Dramen. Eine Bibliographie* [Berlin, 1885], p. 19). Hettler does not state where he found a copy of Sabba's work, and I have not been able to locate it in any library that I have consulted. Hettler states, however, that Sabba's book was printed by Rosa in Paris in octavo form, and that it has four pages of introduction and one hundred and forty-eight pages of text.

52. LORD JOHN RUSSELL, *Don Carlos or Persecution. A Tragedy in Five Acts*, London, 1822.

Russell begins his Preface with the remarkable statement: "I must confess that the two main props upon which the following attempt is built, have no solid foundation in history." (He refers to the passion of the Prince for the Queen and to the part played by the Inquisition in bringing about the downfall of Don Carlos.) With reference to the Inquisition, Russell continues: "That tribunal, however, has so many sins upon its head, that I can scarcely do it any injury by adding an imaginary one to the catalogue."

The play is written in blank verse, covers one hundred and sixteen pages (about 2300 lines), and has as principal characters Philip, Don Carlos, the Grand Inquisitor and his assistants, Osario (a follower of Don Carlos), the Queen, Leonora, and Luis de Córdoba.

Carlos, who is in love with the Queen, is accused of heresy and disloyalty by the agents of the Inquisition. He refuses steadily to betray his friends. Upon his escape from prison, he meets and kills Córdoba, but is himself seriously wounded. The King appears, Carlos asks for a drink, the King orders that this be given him. The Grand Inquisitor puts poison in the drink, and Carlos swallows it. The King questions Carlos closely about the charges that have been made against him. Carlos denies his guilt so fervently that the King begins to weaken. At this point a messenger arrives from Rome with a letter which discloses that the Grand Inquisitor had deliberately plotted to arouse the King's jealousy. Carlos dies, the King sentences the Grand Inquisitor to life imprisonment, the latter denounces the King. The play ends rather weakly with Philip's words:

> May this sad story rest for ever secret!
> Vain hope! in one short day I have destroyed
> My peace of conscience and my hope of fame!

John Russell, first earl of Russell, on two occasions Prime Minister, lived from 1792 to 1878. His *Don Carlos*, written at the age of thirty, had four editions in 1822, but was unsuccessful on the stage; it was an interesting venture in the field of literature by a man whose future fame was earned by his achievements in the field of politics.

53. DON CARLOS, A TRAGEDY. *Translated and rendered into verse from the German of Schiller and adapted for the English stage*, London, 1822.

This version, a copy of which may be found in the British Museum, has about three thousand lines — a little more than half the length of Schiller's drama. The following characters of Schiller's play are omitted — Farnese, Clara Eugenia, Fuentes, Feria, Medina Sidonia, the Prior, the Page, Mercado. One character not in Schiller's list — Count Cordova — is included in this English version.

The work is dedicated to Prince Augustus of Prussia (Versailles, October 16, 1820), because "you first taught me to admire the beauties of 'Don Carlos,' and to comprehend and render them faithfully."

The Preface of nineteen pages includes statements that are of extreme interest. Commenting on the fact that the French and English have condescended to translate and adapt a production of Schiller's to their own stage, the author adds: "I cannot imagine how any man perusing the works of Schiller should have arrested his attention on

'Mary Stuart,' when so admirable a production as 'Don Carlos' lay before him." Then, a little later: "Schiller's and Shakespear's were the most gigantic of all mortal intellects in the art which they professed; the sight of a pigmy cannot reach the sublimity of their genius." And again: "Shakespear never produced, on the whole, scenes so admirable as some to be found in the original of 'Don Carlos.'"

The author is strangely inconsistent in his method. At one point he says: "The difficulty of doing justice to 'Don Carlos' in translation will naturally occur to my readers." A little later he makes the remarkable statement: "I have found it necessary to retrench one half, consequently to omit many beauties, to leave out the under plot entirely, to make many changes, some additions, and to compose an entirely new catastrophe."

In spite of this drastic procedure, the author is bold enough to express the following good opinion of his work: "In short, I avow, in my humble judgment, that I consider the 'Don Carlos' I now offer to the public (setting aside my own part, which is the versification), as the most perfect theatrical piece, in its construction, I am acquainted with."

The scenes between Carlos and Eboli (what the author probably means by the under plot) are omitted, also the scenes in which the destruction of the Armada is reported. Posa is not assassinated, but stabs himself. Carlos is turned over to the Inquisition.

54. DON CARLOS, PRINCE D'ESPAGNE. *Tragédie en cinq actes, d'Otway,* Paris, 1822.

The Preface ("Notice sur Don Carlos") is signed "Jules Saladin." His drama is in prose, whereas Otway's is in heroic couplets. Saladin also breaks up the five acts into many scenes (Act I, nine scenes; Act II, eight; Act III, thirteen; Act IV, eighteen; Act V, eight — fifty-six scenes in all). In Otway's drama, on the other hand, each act constitutes one scene.

Saladin translates idiomatically and fairly closely. One statement in his Preface, however, deserves attention: "Il y a bien dans la tragédie de *Don Carlos* quelques images vives, et des expressions peu ménagées, que j'ai cherché à adoucir sans manquer à la litteralité dont je me suis fait une loi."

Because of this policy of Saladin's and because of the arrangement of scenes, I list the work as an adaptation of Otway's drama. There is a copy of the play in the British Museum.

55. Friedrich Baron de la Motte Fouqué, *Don Carlos, Infant von Spanien. Ein Trauerspiel. Mit einer Zueignung an Friedrich von Schiller*, Danzig (1823).

A copy of this rare drama has been recently acquired by the Harvard University Library. Of special interest are penciled marginal notes in two different hands, one of which was written by a contemporary (on the last page appears the date 4/5, 1825).

Fouqué's drama, like so many of his productions, is a "tour de force." Written mainly in blank verse, it employs elaborate rhymes again and again. It is inordinately long (six acts, 287 pages, more than 5700 lines); in fact, it has about four hundred more lines than Schiller's *Don Carlos*, which, if we except the trilogy of *Wallenstein*, is the longest of Schiller's plays.

The "Zueignung" to Schiller consists of six stanzas in ottava rima, and invokes the favor of the master who had been dead eighteen years. In the last octave, Fouqué attempts to draw a comparison between his production and Schiller's — a comparison which strikes one as amusing after one has read Fouqué's play. Fouqué closes with the lines:

> Doch auch mein Carlos ist kein Ungeheuer,
> Und ist von deinem Carlos nicht so weit,
> Als es im Spiegel blitzt der Welterscheinung; —
> Und All'n uns lacht einst seelige Vereinung!

After the phrase "nicht so weit" the commentator has written "als Tag von Nacht." With this curt comment every reader of the play will agree.

Of the many characters introduced in the play, the principal ones are Philip, Carlos, Elizabeth, Don Juan, Alba, Ruy Gómez (Carlos's tutor), and two Flemish emissaries (Berg and Montigny). The scenes take place at Madrid, at Alcalá, at Aranjuez, and in the monastery at Retamar. The time of action is not indicated; twice, however, Philip's age is given as forty-four, which would fix the year as 1571 — three years after the death of Don Carlos! Fouqué evidently intended to have the action take place in the year of Carlos's death, namely 1568.

The plot is rambling. A number of references to Carlos's cruelties and queer actions in his youth (at one point Carlos himself exclaims "ich bin zuweilen wunderlich"), his readiness to duel with Fadrique, with Alba, even with his own father, his outbursts against many who come in contact with him — all these seem to lay the basis for the catastrophe that overtakes him. Curiously enough, Carlos exults when he is told that Philip has married Elizabeth of Valois (to whom Carlos was supposed to be engaged). When Carlos, at the King's request, goes to Alcalá to greet Elizabeth upon her arrival in Spain, he is overcome by her beauty and charm.

The two envoys from Flanders, Berg and Montigny, after their request that the Inquisition be forbidden in the Netherlands is bluntly refused by Philip, succeed in giving to Carlos a letter in which Egmont pleads for justice to his people. The King, who was on the point of yielding to Elizabeth's plea that the army under Alba should not be sent to Flanders, changes his mind as soon as he learns that Carlos is involved in the plan. Alba is ordered to depart; Carlos exclaims "Umfasst mich! Flandern! Dein bin ich und Egmont's!"

Carlos is about to flee to Flanders, when he hears that the Queen is ill; he proceeds to Aranjuez, meets the Queen, and then rides wildly to Madrid. A message from the Queen begs him to do nothing rash. Meanwhile, the King follows Carlos to Madrid, enters his room while Carlos is asleep, gives orders that the Prince's weapons be taken away and that the windows be walled up, and assigns to Gómez the responsibility of guarding Carlos.

The sixth and last act is a strange mixture of incidents that border on the ludicrous. Philip calls a council to decide on Carlos's fate. The Prince is charged with rebellion and with designs on the King's life. After each member of the council gives his opinion — some advise life imprisonment, others that Carlos serve in a military campaign against enemies of the state — Philip dictates to his secretary, signs the document, and passes it for inspection to his councillors. The King has decided that Carlos must die; in doing so, Philip makes the remarkable statement (p. 256):

> Eins kommt auf des Infanten Hoheit selbsten an, —
> Das Eine, — welche Todesgattung er gebeut.
> Im Tod' auch hüt' er darin noch sein Königsrecht,
> Und wähle christlich, königlich und ritterhaft.

While the King is alone, the Queen (who is gravely ill and is supposed to be dying) enters the room, receives permission to visit Carlos, faints, seems to be dead, again opens her eyes, gets up, indulges in a speech, and walks out. Meanwhile, Carlos has decided that he will die by having his veins opened; a masked surgeon suggests that this be done in a bath, and Carlos accepts the suggestion. After Carlos has been led to the bath, the King decides that he must see his son once more —

"Ich wollt' ihm ja nur meinen Segen bringen!" Carlos, although bleeding to death, props himself up, and takes his departure from the world — after the King has extended his hand in blessing! Toward the end of the play announcements are made — that Egmont, Berg, and Montigny have been beheaded, that the Netherlanders and the Moors are in revolt, and that Carlos and the Queen have died.

Fouqué, in spite of the "Zueignung," has taken practically nothing from Schiller. From St. Réal he borrows the thread of the story — Carlos's relations to Elizabeth, his sympathy with the revolt in Flanders, his condemnation and death by orders of his father. Apparently Fouqué drew upon his imagination to make his play different from every other treatment of the theme. He succeeded. If he had not labeled his work "ein Trauerspiel," one might easily suppose that he had undertaken to write a burlesque.

56. DOIGNY DU PONCEAU, *Elizabeth de France, Tragédie.* First published in *Oeuvres Complètes*, Paris, 1826.

This drama was written some years before it was published — probably in or before 1820. Dulong (II, 140) says: "Il y en eut un autre [*Don Carlos*] d'un certain Doigni du Ponceau." A footnote to this sentence refers to the "Feuilleton dramatique de la *Quotidienne*, du 22 décembre 1820."

Doigny du Ponceau was born in 1750 and died in 1830. In 1776 he was crowned by the Academy, but he was never elected to membership. In 1795 he helped to establish the *Quotidienne*, and thereafter he identified himself with the anti-republican movement. He wrote poems, epistles in verse, and tragedies — none of which were above the level of mediocrity. The fact that Dulong refers to him as "un certain Doigni du Ponceau" seems to indicate that he did not play an important part in the literary history of France.

I have been unable to find a copy of his play. It is not listed in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

57. ALEXANDRE SOUMET, *Elizabeth de France. Tragédie en cinq actes et en vers, représentée pour la première fois sur le théâtre français, le 2 mai 1828*, Paris, 1828.

As in Chénier's drama (no. 46), Egmont, not Posa, is the friend who brings to Carlos the appeal of the Netherlanders. An interesting character in Soumet's drama is the hermit Alvarès, to whom the Queen confesses her love for Carlos. The details of the plot follow Schiller — the scenes describing the conversation between Carlos and the Queen, between the King and Carlos, between Alba and the King, the episode about the Queen's medallion, the announcement about the loss of the Grand Armada. In order to make the Queen admit her love for the Prince, the King informs her that Carlos is dead. The Queen is overcome; in a delirium she ardently confesses that she loves the Prince and hates her husband. Carlos and Elizabeth are given over to the Grand Inquisitor. The play closes with the words of the King: "Mon devoir est rempli; vieillard, faîtes le vôtre."

Soumet's main sources are the plays by Schiller and by Chénier. If he knew St. Réal, his play gives no indication of such knowledge. Nor was an acquaintanceship with St. Réal's story necessary; Soumet found in Schiller all the important facts that were utilized in his *Elizabeth de France.*

One extremely interesting fact connected with the performance of Soumet's play deserves mention. Rousselière (p. 26) records the following incident:

> *L'Elizabeth de France* de M. Soumet (1828) ne se soutint que pendant un petit nombre de soirées; cependant elle marque, dit-on, dans les souvenirs du Théâtre-Français par une innovation qui date de là. Précédemment une héroïne, et même un héros, ne devaient expirer que sur un fauteuil ou sur un canapé. L'actrice chargée du rôle d'Elizabeth, Mlle Duchesnois, fit un coup de tête: elle osa, au grand scandale des vieux admirateurs de la tradition, se laisser tomber sur le parquet pour mourir. M. Soumet n'en fut pas plus applaudi.

58. ANONYMOUS FRENCH VERSION, Paris, 1830.

This version, with the most ridiculous ending imaginable, was performed in Paris in 1830, but was never published. The only reference to it that I have been able to find is in the Introduction to Rousselière's treatment of the theme. (See no. 76.)

Rousselière's description (p. 24) follows:

> Je n'ai emprunté . . . pour finir, à la pièce qu'un ingénieux anonyme fit jouer (l'heureux mortel!) par les comédiens du Théâtre-Français de Paris en 1830. Cependant je note qu'il y a dans cette tragédie une émouvante invention pour précipiter la catastrophe du héros. On y voit au Ve acte Don Carlos prisonnier; un traître lui persuade de fuir, en se coulant, à l'aide d'une corde, du haut du donjon royal où le malheurex prince est renfermé. Carlos, émerveillé, se met naivement en chemin pour gagner le sol; mais à peine a-t-il depassé les premiers noeuds, que son atroce conseiller s'arme d'un coutelas et scie la corde vers le haut: bien entendu, l'enfant tombe dans les fossés et se brise!

59. J.-J. COOMANS, *Don Carlos*, 1837.

Dulong (II, 140) states that Coomans's play was "Imprimé à Gand en 1837." Rousselière (p. 27) makes the statement: "J'ignore si la pièce de M. Coomans (1837) et celle de M. Lambinon (1845) ont brigué l'avantage d'être vues derrière la rampe d'une salle de spectacle."

60. ISABEL DE LA PAZ. *Drama en cinco actos y en verso de D. José Lorenzo Figueróa*, Sevilla, 1839.

The play is comparatively short — only ninety-six small pages. The principal characters are: Felipe II, Rey de España; Isabel de Valois, ó de la Paz, su esposa; Amelia, confidente de Isabel; Carlos, Principe, hijo de Felipe II; Ruy-Gómez de Silva, Principe de Eboli, Ministro; Eduardo González, Oficial de Alabarderos; four deputies from Flanders, and a number of minor characters.

The scene is in Madrid, the time 1568. The first three acts are played in a room of the palace, the fourth in the house of Eduardo González, the fifth in the room of the Inquisitor. Carlos is in love with the Queen. His friend González (who plays a part much like that of Marquis Posa in Schiller's drama) is murdered in Carlos's presence by the King's hirelings. As González dies, Carlos cries "Muerto!" The play ends with the lines spoken by Montigni, one of the Flemish deputies:

Dios no quiere venganzas en la tierra.
A los tiranos da castiga el Cielo.

Figueróa, like Schiller, is fair in his attitude toward King Philip. Of extreme importance, therefore, are the author's remarks in his Preface ("Advertencia"):

> He pintado el caracter de Felipe II como creo que era realmente. Astuto, sagaz, engañador, ambicioso, adicto al absolutismo que creía necessario para destruir los restos del sistema feudal, y para contenir la Heregia que en aquella época iba siempre unida á la rebelión, y á las espantosas guerras civiles que asolaron la Europa. Los Historiadores protestantes le han atribuido la muerte de su hijo; pero eran enemigos jurados de este Monarca, y el odio les prestó los pinceles con que apasionadamente hicieron su retrato. Sobre este punto no quiero insistir, porque es un error de la Historia ya desvanecido por Historiadores y críticos de alta nombradía.

A copy of Figueróa's play may be found in the New York Public Library.

61. FRANZ GRILLPARZER, *Esther* (1840?).

The well-known Biblical story impressed Grillparzer with its dramatic possibilities as early as 1830. About 1840 he again took an interest in the subject, and began to work on a drama. It remained, however, a fragment. Only the first two acts and about fifty lines of a third act have come down to us; in all there are less than a thousand lines.

Grillparzer was deeply interested in the Spanish drama, especially in the works of Lope de Vega. It is but natural, therefore, that commentators have seen in Lope's *La hermosa Ester* a model for Grillparzer's work. One scholar, W. Duschinsky of Vienna, argues ingeniously that Grillparzer, in planning his *Esther*, was again under the spell of Schiller's *Don Carlos*.

Duschinsky presents his case in an article *Ueber die Quellen und die Zeit der Abfassung von Grillparzers Esther* (*Zeitschrift für die osterreichischen Gymnasien* [November, 1899], pp. 961–973). He cites interesting parallel passages to show that there was much in common between Philip and Ahasver, Posa and Esther, Alba and Haman.

Duschinsky's theory seems plausible, particularly in view of the fact that in *Blanka von Kastilien* (see no. 42) Grillparzer consciously and admittedly used Schiller's *Don Carlos* as a model.

62. Don Carlos. An opera with a German libretto. Music by Eugenio Nordal. Produced at Linz in 1843.

The opera is listed by Dassori and by Towers, but as in the case of certain other operas (nos. 35, 63, 67, 69, 72, 77) I have not had access to the libretto.

63. Don Carlos. An opera with an Italian libretto. Music by Michele Costa. Produced in London in 1844.

See H. F. Chorley, *Thirty Years' Musical Recollections*, I, 231, 232; also Benjamin Lumley, *Reminiscences of the Opera* (London, 1864), who has this to say of Costa's work:

> "Don Carlos" was well "mounted" and supported by Grisi, Mario, Lablache, and Fornasiri. Like its predecessor, it utterly failed to maintain any prominence. It survived by a very few nights, and then, like "Malek Adel," sank into the vast "limbo" of forgotten works.

I have not been able to find a copy of the libretto (see remarks under 35, 62, 67, 69, 72, 77).

64. Paul Lambinon. A French version of the theme. 1845.

It is doubtful whether Lambinon's play was ever published or performed. Rousselière (see no. 76) cites a list of authors to whom he owes nothing; in this list appears the name of Lambinon. Rousselière also says (p. 27): "J'ignore si la pièce de M. Coomans (1837) et celle de M. Lambinon (1845) ont brigué l'avantage d'être vues derrière la rampe d'une salle de spectacle."

65. ALEXANDRE SOUMET, *Le Secret de la Confession.* (Théâtre, édition définitive, pp. 29–66.) Paris, 1845.

In an "avertissement" Soumet explains the purpose of his play.

> *Le Secret de la Confession* (titre défendu par la censure en 1827) est un de ces sujets-types, qui émanent de la civilisation moderne; il manquait à notre théâtre. On se souvient que Saint Jean Népomucene aima mieux mourir que de révéler les aveux dont une reine l'avait fait dépositaire: j'avais d'abord songé à le prendre pour le héros chrétien de ma tragédie; des considérations artistiques m'ont engagé à le remplacer par le personnage d'Alvarès et à me servir de la fable de Don Carlos pour développer avec plus d'avantage mon idée première. Deux ou trois scènes de cet ouvrage sont imitées du *Don Carlos* de Schiller. Le rôle d'Elizabeth de France avait été composé pour Mlle Duchesnois. Ce fut la dernière création de cette admirable actrice, méconnue quelques instants pour n'avoir pas voulu faire descendre son talent des hautes régions de l'art.

Soumet's *Le Secret de la Confession* is a smoother and more forceful version of the Don Carlos story than his earlier play, *Elizabeth de France* (no. 57). Some of the scenes are rearranged, and the fifth act is thoroughly revised. The character of Alvarès is brought out more clearly; whereas in the earlier version he succumbs to torture and reveals the secret that had been confided in him, in the later version he continues to the very end to maintain that the Queen is innocent. In the later version, moreover, the Grand Inquisitor plays the dominating rôle that he plays in the final scene of Schiller's drama.

66. ALEXANDER DUMAS, *Le Page du Duc de Savoie,* Paris, 1846.

The scene of this novel is laid in the Netherlands in the time of the Emperor Charles V and in France in the time of King Henry II. The principal character is Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, but there are interesting sidelights on the career of Don Carlos. It is evident from the following three passages that Dumas drew his material from St. Réal or from accounts that go back directly or indirectly to St. Réal.

In Part 1, chapter 15 ("Après l'Abdication") occurs a conversation between Charles V and his grandson Don Carlos, as a result of which Charles advises his sister, Queen Eleonore to watch the boy carefully and to report her deductions. She reports unfavorably. Then follows a significant paragraph by Dumas: "Ce petit bonhomme, qui n'eut pas fui à Inspruck, était ce même don Carlos que son père Philippe II fit tuer, douze ans plus tard, sous prétexte qu'il conspirait avec les revoltés des Pays-Bas."

In Part 3, chapter 2 ("L'Envoyé de Leurs Majestés les Rois de France et d'Espagne") there occurs, among the conditions of the treaty of peace, the following: "Que le roi Philippe épousera la princesse Élizabeth de France, qu'il avait d'abord demandée pour son fils don Carlos, et qu'avec cette princesse, il lui sera donné une dot de quatre cent mille écus d'or."

In Part 3, chapter 6 ("Le Colporteur") is found the significant passage:

> Hélas! il n'en était pas de même de la pauvre Élizabeth! Fiancée d'abord au jeune prince don Carlos, qui lui avait envoyé son portrait, et qui avait reçu le sien, elle avait vu la mort inattendue de Marie Tudor ruiner tout à coup l'échafaudage de son bonheur, qu'elle croyait hors de toute atteinte. Veuf de Marie, repoussé par Élizabeth d'Angleterre, Philippe II s'était rebattu sur Élizabeth de France, et, dans les conditions du traité de paix, on n'avait eu à changer que deux mots, qui devaient faire la malheur de deux personnes, et même de trois. . . . Au lieu donc de ces deux mots: "*Le prince Carlos* épousera la princesse Élizabeth de France," on avait mis ces deux mots: "*Le roi Philippe* épousera la princesse Élizabeth de France."

67. DON CARLO. An opera with an Italian libretto by Giacchetti. Music by Pasquale Bona. Produced in Milan on March 23, 1847.

This opera is listed by Dassori and by Towers. I have not been able to find a copy of the libretto (see remarks under nos. 35, 62, 63, 69, 72, 77).

68. E. M. CORMAN, *Philippe II, Roi d'Espagne. Drame en cinq actes imité de Schiller et précédé de L'Étudiant d'Alcalá*, Paris, 1848.

The play was first produced at the Théâtre de la Gaîté in Paris on May 14, 1846. Although Corman follows the main outlines of Schiller's drama, he differs sufficiently to warrant calling his play a treatment of the theme rather than an adaptation of Schiller. The Prologue, for example, in which Carlos, disguised as a student of the University of Alcalá, declares his love for the Princess Elizabeth in the royal park at St. Germain, has no counterpart in Schiller. The part played by Posa is taken by Egmont in Corman's drama; Eboli becomes Ines, Domingo appears as Gaetano. As in so many treatments of the theme, the final scenes take place in prison. Carlos is shot (in Schiller's play Posa undergoes this fate), and as he dies there enter his cell the King, the Queen, Alba, and numerous other courtiers. The Queen is in despair. The King bemoans the fact that he is alone on the most important throne of the world.

A Portuguese version (no. 70) of Corman's treatment appeared in 1851. The New York Public Library catalogue of this version states that the name Corman is a pseudonym for Pierre Étienne Piestre (1811–1903).

69. ELIZABETTA DI VALOIS. An opera with an Italian libretto. Music by Antonio Buzzolla. Produced in Venice in 1849.

This opera is listed by Dassori. Towers lists an opera under the title *Don Carlo*, composed by Buzzolla. I assume that Buzzolla composed only one opera dealing with Carlos and Elizabeth of Valois. I have not been able to find the libretto (see remarks under nos. 35, 62, 63, 67, 72, 77).

70. PHILIPPE II. REI DE HESPANHA. *Drama historico em 5 actos. Precedido do Estudante D'Alcalá prologo por M. Cormon. Versaõ Portugueza*, Porto, 1851.

This drama follows the French original by Cormon (no. 68) fairly closely, but it is, as the title page states, a "version" or adaptation. The New York Public Library copy of the Portuguese version has a note to the effect that M. Cormon is a pseudonym of Pierre Étienne Piestre.

The principal characters are Henrique II, Rei de França; Philippe II, Rei de Hespanha; D. Carlos; Carlos d'Egmont; Duque d'Alba; Caetano; Conde de Lerma; Marquez de Feria; Conde de Taxis; Inquisidor Geral; Joao, Jardineiro; Rouget, dito; Luiz, pagem de D. Carlos; Isabel; Ignez; Luiza; Duquesca d'Olivares. The Prologue covers twenty-five pages, the play proper one hundred and ten pages.

We find the usual motives. Carlos, in love with the Queen, is bent upon obtaining an interview with her; in this he is aided by Egmont, who might be regarded as the "Posa" of the drama.

In the last scene Carlos exclaims as he dies:

> Meu páe . . . escutae as palavras de um moribundo . . . saõ sagradas! . . . Lançae de vosso coração odiosas desconfianças . . . que o meu sangue vos aplaque! . . . desviae de vós os infames que causarum todas as nossas des-

graças . . . abençoae me. . . . Tende cuidado em minha mae! . . . é um anjo que orará por vós neste mundo . . . eu vou orar por vós ambos no céo! (expira.)

The king says the final words of the drama: "Morto! elle assim o tinha dito. Eu estou só . . . só sobre o primeiro throno do mundo."

71. DON CARLOS, DER INFANTERIST VON SPANIEN, *oder das kommt davon, wenn man seine Schwiegermutter liebt. Spanische Lokalposse mit starkem Berliner Beigeschmack und sehr vielen couplets, in drei lustigen Akten, frei nach Schiller, aber bedeutend verbessert. Musik von Gluck, Heyd'n, Lanner, Strauss, Meyerbeer, Gung'l und Mehreren. Auf dem Puppentheater der humoristischen Weihnachts-Ausstellung zu Berlin 104 Mal aufgeführt. Berlin, 1852. Verlag von Silvius Landsberger, Klosterstr. 41. Als Manuscript gedruckt.*

This interesting little farce (it covers only forty pages) has been reprinted by Gotthilf Weisstein in the "Berliner Curiosa" (no. 2). In a "Nachwort" of twenty-two pages Weisstein gives an account of the author, who was no other than the publisher, Silvius Landsberger.

The place of action is described thus: "Der erste Akt spielt in Aranjuez, und nachdem die 'schönen Tage' daselbst 'zu Ende sind,' in Madrid." The time is given as "zwischen 1651 und 1852." The principal characters are:

Philipp der Ixte, König von Spanien. Etwas jähzornig und immer in Geldverlegenheit.
Hulda, seine linker Hand angetraute Gattin. Früher Putzmacherin in Paris und sehr geliebt von:
Don Carlos, Kronprinz und Infanterist. Leidet sehr an Weltschmerz, und liebt, soviel der alte Philipp weiss, seine Stiefmutter hoffnungslos.
Prinzessin von Eboli. Sehr heissblütig und reizbar, sonst aber äusserst nachsichtig mit den Schwächen des männlichen Geschlechts.
Kasper, Früher Aufwiegler in Berlin, jetzt Leibkoch bei der Prinzessin Eboli.
Markis Posa von Castilien. (Angenommener Name.) Ist der Sohn eines jüdischen Irrenarztes aus Posemuckel. — Zweideutiger Character.

Other characters are the Infanta Carlina, Alba, Domingo (who is described as the "Präsident des Autodafeterklubs in Madrid"), and an Officer of the Noble Guard (who is referred to as "das rothe Gespenst").

The plot moves quickly. Carlos is in love with the Queen, Eboli with Carlos. Kasper seems to be the general manager. The King gives orders that Carlos be hanged. Meanwhile he hears that the Queen has drowned herself. He asks Kasper to suggest an easy method of dying, and Kasper promptly says: "denn müssen Sie vor Langeweile sterben." The King is interested in the suggestion, and Kasper begins to read from a newspaper various articles — "Weihnachtswanderung von Ludwig Rellstab," "Verhandlungen aus der ersten Kammer," "Verhandlungen aus die zweete Kammer, Wahlangelegenheiten," and then finally "Wie man Häuser baut" — whereupon the King expires. Carlos and Hulda, reports of whose deaths had been invented, fly into one another's arms, Carlos is proclaimed King, he dismisses all the ministers except Posa, and announces "Ich werde mein Volk glücklich machen."

The farce introduces many quotations from Schiller's drama. It has also many clever references to political events of the times. It is written in prose interspersed with a dozen humorous poems which are sung to popular melodies. There is a copy of Weisstein's reprint in the Harvard University Library.

72. DON CARLO. An opera with an Italian libretto by Beninzone. Music by S. A. DeFerrari. Produced in Genoa in 1853.

The opera is listed by Dassori and by Towers. I have not been able to find the libretto (see nos. 35, 62, 63, 67, 69, 77).

73. PHILIPP UND PEREZ. *Historische Tragödie in fünf Aufzügen von Karl Gutzkow.* (*Als Manuscript nach den Dresdener Vorstellungen gedruckt*), Dresden, 1853.

The play, which is eighty-seven pages long, gives a list of more than thirty named characters in addition to grandees, courtiers, councillors, pages, monks, sharpshooters, and so on. The names of the actors and actresses of the Dresden performance are also given. The first act takes place at the Escurial, the other acts in Madrid. The time of action is 1578. Gutzkow mentions two books that he considers of importance — L. Ranke, *Fürsten und Völker von Südeuropa*, and A. Miguet, *Antonio Perez et Philippe II*, Paris, 1845.

Although Don Carlos has been dead ten years before the action of this play begins, nevertheless his fate is referred to several times. (The passages in question will be quoted from a later and expanded version of the play; see no. 79.)

Gutzkow gives his views about some of the important characters, especially of Alba and of Eboli. His account of the latter bears repetition: "Prinzessin Eboli ist in diesem Drama zehn Jahre älter als in Don Carlos. Sie muss liebenswürdig und interessant, im Gespräch mit Philipp Akt I und II auch kokett sein, sonst aber durchweg den Ton der Gräfin Orsina anschlagen."

There is a copy of the play in the New York Public Library.

74. DON CARLOS AUF DER SCHMIERE. Date uncertain (1853?).

In discussing the comic versions of the Don Carlos theme, Albert Ludwig (*Schiller und die Nachwelt* [Berlin, 1909], p. 343) mentions this play by an anonymous author. Since Ludwig cites *Don Carlos auf der Schmiere* just after he has called attention to Silvius Landsberger's *Don Carlos der Infanterist von Spanien* (see no. 71), and since Landsberger's farce was first performed in the season of 1851–52, I place the date of the former at 1853 or thereabouts.

75. EDUARD DEVRIENT. An acting version of Schiller's *Don Carlos.* Karlsruhe, 1853 and 1867.

A short account of this adaptation is given by Eugen Kilian in the Introduction of his own stage adaptation of Schiller's drama (see no. 102). Kilian says (p. 5):

> Weit förderlicher waren die Versuche einzelner Bühnen, in der Kürzung des Stückes — abweichend von der Schablone — neue und selbstständige Wege einzuschlagen. So brachte Eduard Devrient das Werk schon 1853 zu Beginn seiner Karlsruher Directionsführung in einer Fassung auf die Bühne, die sich durch Herstellung der Verschwörung zwischen Alba, Domingo und der Prinzessin, der Auftritte im Kartäuserkloster und der einleitenden Szene des vierten Aktes vorteilhaft unterschied von der gangbaren Einrichtung der Tragödie. Einer Neueinstudierung im Jahre 1867 legte derselbe Bühnenleiter eine neue Bearbeitung zugrunde, die unter Beibehaltung der genannten Szenen erstmals den glücklichen Versuch unternahm, in einer Reihe von Einzelheiten auf die Fassung der ersten Buchausgabe des Don Carlos von 1787 zurückzugreifen.

76. AMÉDÉE DE LA ROUSSELIÈRE, *Don Carlos. Tragédie en cinq actes et en vers imitée de Schiller*, Liège, 1855.

There is a copy of this play, inscribed with the author's name on the title page, in the private library of Alexander Liebisch of Leipzig.

In an Introduction of thirty-three pages, Rousselière gives his theories about adapting another man's work. He follows Schiller's plot in the main, but he expresses the greatest admiration for Otway and Alfieri. He states definitely that he owes nothing to Campistron,

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Ximenès, Lefèvre, Chénier, Liquet, Daumier, Malinas, Soumet, Coomans, Lambinon, and to a certain anonymous author whose treatment of the theme was produced in Paris in 1830.

This list is of extreme importance, for some of the authors are so obscure that it is difficult to find any other reference to them. In some cases the dramas were produced, but never published.

Rousselière's work, in rhymed Alexandrines, is about two thirds as long as Schiller's. As an example of his deviations from Schiller's play, we may quote the closing lines. The Queen says to Carlos: "Non, espérez encore." The Grand Inquisitor, in the last line of the drama, replies: "Son éspoir n'est qu'en Dieu!"

77. DON CARLOS. An opera with an Italian libretto. Music by Vincenzo Moscuzza. Produced in Naples in 1862.

The opera is listed by Dassori and by Towers. I have not been able to find the libretto (see nos. 35, 62, 63, 67, 69, 72).

78. DE MARKIES VON POSA. *Treurspel . . . met aanleuning aan Schiller "Don Karlos" opgesteld voor Rederijkers*, Deventer, 1862.

As the title indicates, Marquis Posa plays the important part in this Dutch adaptation of Schiller's play. There is a copy of the book in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.

79. ANTONIO PÉREZ. *Trauerspiel in fünf Aufzügen von Karl Gutzkow*, Leipzig, 1863. (Volume XII of *Dramatische Werke*, Vollständige neu umgearbeitete Ausgabe.)

In an "Anmerkung" Gutzkow has the following to say about this drama:

> Die Regel des Horaz: Nonum prematur in annum — ! hab' ich mit vorstehendem Drama mehr als wörtlich befolgt. Als ich in 1853 am dresdener Hoftheater die Vorstellungen des damals "Philippe und Perez" genannten Stückes sah, überzeugte ich mich von einem spröden und ungetheilter Hingebung schwer zugänglichen Stoff. Nach einigen Vorstellungen . . . zog ich die Arbeit vorläufig aus dem Bühnenverkehr und liess sie, trotz mehrfacher Aufforderung, nicht drucken.

As a matter of fact, the New York Public Library has a copy of *Philippe und Perez*, published in 1853; perhaps it was printed without Gutzkow's permission (see no. 73).

Gutzkow indicates that Schiller's drama influenced him:

Schliesslich kam die sich ihres Vorhabens vollkommen bewusste Absicht des Verfassers, Schiller's "Don Carlos" hier und da in den geschichtlichen Grundlagen (Escovedo ist doch wohl der Anstoss zu Posa) zu reproduciren und gleichsam die Welt des Don Carlos in historischere und nationalere Färbung zu übersetzen, als . . . Nachahmung oder wohl gar als eine unbewusste Abhängigkeit von Schiller's grossem Vorbilde heraus! . . . Die im Jahre 1853 gegebenen Vorstellungen begründeten sich auf einen Text, der eine Kürzung der vorliegenden Fassung war.

As was pointed out in the discussion of no. 73, Don Carlos is several times referred to. The important passages are the following:

Page 19 (Pelajo speaking):

Hier stand Don Carlos — als ich ihn begrüsste
Vor seinem Tod zum letzten mal — ! Da stand
Mit dem Malteserkreuz Marquis von Posa — !
Hier gaukelte die Eboli — sie rührte
Die Saiten damals noch auf Philipp's Herzen
Mit Lautenspiel, noch nicht mit Politik —.

(In the 1853 version this passage contained only four lines.)

Page 25 (Eboli to Antonio):

Ich werde Philipp hassen
Um alles, was ich schon erlitten habe,
Erleiden musste um Don Carlos, Posa,
Und vollends um dich, Antonio!

Page 77 (Antonio talking to Escovedo about Eboli):

Wer sie kannte,
Die Leidenschaft, die schon den edeln Prinzen,
Des Königs Sohn, Don Carlos, einst umstrickte —
Dem Tode ihm geweiht — da war's ein Spiel nur!

Page 89 (Vasquez to Barajas):

Beweise müssen jetzt geliefert werden!
Der König, an Verleumdungen gewöhnt,
Glaubt dem allein, was seine *Hand* berührt!
So war's zu Carlos' Zeit, so sei es wieder!

80. Victor Séjour. *Les Fils de Charles-Quint. Drame en cinq actes et un prologue en deux tableaux. Représenté pour la première fois à Paris sur le Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique le 3 Février 1864.*

The play covers twenty-six closely printed pages of prose in the *Théâtre Contemporain Illustré*. There is a copy in the Boston Public Library. The principal characters (there are twenty-four in all) are Philip, Carlos, Elizabeth, Gómez de Silva, and Pérez.

The Prologue, consisting of two tableaux, takes place in the year 1556; the play itself takes place in 1568. The action is exceedingly swift. Carlos is imprisoned and dies of poison given to him in a goblet of wine.

81. FRIEDRICH SCHILLER, DON CARLOS, INFANT VON SPANJE. *Vrij vertaald en bewerkt voor rederijkers door J. H. Bergman*, Te Niewe Niedorp, 1866.

Like no. 78 this is a rather free Dutch adaptation of Schiller's play. In it we find the important motives that are employed by Schiller. There is a copy of the book in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin.

82. DON CARLOS, INFANT OF SPAIN. Translated from the German of Schiller by Thomas Selby Egan. London, 1867.

The translation is in blank verse, and is fairly smooth and accurate. I list this version as an adaptation of Schiller's drama, because of Egan's drastic method of reducing the number of scenes. In Schiller the acts are divided into scenes as follows: Act I, nine scenes; II, fifteen scenes; III, ten scenes; IV, twenty-four scenes; V, eleven scenes — total, sixty-nine. Egan arranges his scenes as follows: Act I, three scenes; II, five scenes; III, three scenes; IV, nine scenes; V, three scenes — total, twenty-three.

It is of interest to note that Benjamin Thompson, when translating Schiller's drama into English (see remarks under no. 36), employed only nineteen scenes.

Copies of Egan's and Thompson's renditions are in the British Museum.

83. DON CARLOS. OPÉRA EN CINQ ACTES. *Paroles de Méry et Camille du Locle. Musique de G. Verdi. Représenté pour la première fois, à Paris, sur le théâtre Impérial de l'Opéra le 21 Mars 1867,* Paris (1867).

The characters are Philip, Carlos, Posa, a Prior, the Grand Inquisitor, Elizabeth, Eboli, Thibault (a page of Eboli's), the Countess of Aremberg, Lerma, a Herald.

The first act, curiously enough, takes place at Fontainebleau, where, in the forest, Carlos and Elizabeth meet. The second act is at St. Just, the third at Valladolid (the second tableau of this act is a "Ballet de la Reine"), the fourth at Valladolid, the fifth at St. Just. Thus no part of the opera takes place in Schiller's settings — Aranjuez and Madrid.

The story, however, is like Schiller's. Carlos loves the Queen, she urges him to help the Flemings, the King interrupts their final interview and turns Carlos over to the Inquisition.

Verdi revised the opera from time to time. The most important change was the reduction from five acts to four. I have been unable to find any French copies of the four-act version. See the remarks under the next three items.

84. Don Carlo. Opera in Cinque Atti. *Parole di Mêry e Camillo du Locle. Musica di G. Verdi. Traduzione italiana di Achille de Lauzières,* Parigi (1867).

Lauzières follows the French version, which was published in the same year, but he does not translate closely. (See remarks under nos. 83 and 85.) The chances are that the four-act Italian version was determined upon soon after the first production of the opera in French.

There is a copy of this libretto in the British Museum.

85. Don Carlos; an Opera in Four Acts. The music by Verdi. The English Version by Thomas J. Williams. As represented at the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden (London, 1867).

The Italian and English texts are printed side by side. Williams follows an Italian text (of four acts) which differs from the Lauzières version of 1867 (which has five acts) and from the Lauzières and Zanardini version of 1884. Apparently, in the very year that the opera was first performed, there appeared a French version of five acts (Méry and du Locle), an Italian version of five acts (Lauzières), an Italian version of four acts (which was probably the predecessor of the Lauzières and Zanardini version of 1884), and Williams's adaptation of the latter.

The first act of Williams's version and of his Italian model takes place at St. Just, the second at Madrid, the third at Madrid, and the fourth at St. Just.

The stamp of the British Museum states that the book was received on July 12, 1867. The question then arises, Did Lauzières or someone else make a four-act Italian version in 1867?

86. Conway Edwardes, *Don Carlos; or, the Infant in Arms.*

This is listed as a burlesque, and was performed at S. Shield's New Theatre Royal on August 6, 1869, and in vaudeville on April 16, 1870.

(See *The Stage Cyclopaedia. A bibliography of plays.* Compiled by Reginald Clarence [London, 1905].)

I have been unable to find a copy of the play in any of the libraries that I have consulted.

87. Gaspar Nuñez de Arce, *El Haz de Leña. Drama en cinco actos y en verso*, Madrid, 1872.

In this drama, which has been called the most dignified Spanish play of the whole nineteenth century, the element that became so popular with most writers through St. Réal's story — the love of Carlos for his stepmother and former fiancée, Elizabeth of Valois — is not to be found. The plot, in fact, shows little similarity with that of any other drama on the theme.

At an *auto-da-fé* at Valladolid in 1559 Don Carlos de Sesa, a Castilian nobleman who has been condemned to death, utters words of protest as he passes King Philip. The King, without losing his composure, replies: "If my son acted as you have done, I should not hesitate to carry to the pyre my bundle of wood in order to burn him." These words are overheard by de Sesa's son, who immediately plans to take revenge. With his sister Catalina he goes to Madrid, takes quarters in a modest little house, assumes the name Cisneros, becomes an actor, and plays the rôle of buffoon. The eccentric Prince, Don Carlos, becomes interested in Cisneros. When envoys from Flanders come to Madrid in order to enlist Carlos for their cause, Cisneros plays the part of the intermediary, and induces Carlos to meet the envoys at the little house. While the negotiations are in progress, Cisneros decides that the moment for revenge has come; he hastens to Philip, reveals the plot, and guides the King and his courtiers to the scene of the conspiracy. Carlos is put under arrest. Meanwhile Catalina, who has fallen in love with Carlos, intercedes for him, and succeeds in persuading the King to see his son again. Carlos, however, worn out by his excesses, has grown steadily weaker; the King forgives him, and Carlos dies repentant. The play ends with the cry of Cisneros: "Soy luterano!"

88. Alfred Tennyson, *Queen Mary, A drama*, Boston, 1875.

My copy of the book, published in Boston by James R. Osgood and Company, has the statement on the title page "Author's edition, from advance sheets." The English edition appeared in the same year.

The scenes in the play take place after the marriage of Philip of Spain to Mary Tudor, Queen of England (1554), and before the death of Mary and the proclamation of her half sister Elizabeth as Queen (1558).

Tennyson indicates that Philip despairs of having an heir by Mary, that he realizes that Mary is in precarious health, and that he secretly hopes to marry Elizabeth Tudor after Mary's death. To this end, he persuades Mary to declare Elizabeth her heir to the throne; he argues that if Elizabeth is not selected, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots and wife of the dauphin of France, might succeed to the English throne.

Philip also suggests Prince Philibert of Savoy as a husband for Elizabeth — knowing, in advance, that Elizabeth will refuse to accede to this plan. Toward the end of Act V, Scene iii, in the course of a conversation between Elizabeth and Feria, agent of Philip, there occur the lines:

Elizabeth

Perhaps; but we have seamen. Count de Feria,
I take it that the King has spoken to you;
But is Don Carlos such a goodly match?

Feria

Don Carlos, Madam, is but twelve years old.

Elizabeth

Ay, tell the King that I will muse upon it;
He is my good friend, and I would keep him so;
But — he would have me Catholic of Rome,
And that I scarce can be; and, sir, till now
My sister's marriage, and my father's marriages,
Make me full fain to live and die a maid.
But I am much beholden to your King.
Have you aught else to tell me?

These lines imply that Philip had instructed Feria to suggest Don Carlos as a possible match — again knowing that Elizabeth would not agree. Tennyson, however, has motivated the proposal poorly; no previous mention of Don Carlos by the King or by anyone else is recorded in the play. Nevertheless, it is of interest that Tennyson, like so many others who touched upon the theme, believed Philip capable of using his son as a pawn to further the monarch's selfish ends.

89. DUM CARLOS, DER REITENDE INFANTERIST VON SPANIEN, *oder: Die schrecklichen Folgen der Trunkenboldigkeit. Ein dramatisches*

Ungeheuer nach den besten carnevalistischen Quellen, nach dem Punch, Kladderadatsch, etc., etc. *frei bearbeitet von Nicodemus Spitzel. Aus den Spanisch-Bittern in's Federweisse übersetzt. Musik vom Capellmeister Nanu. Mit Pro- und Epilog nebst Zwischenreden. Wallner's Thespiskarren, Lieferung 12,* Erfurt, Bartholomäus (1876).

In a "Vorrede, die mit der Sache selbst wenig zu thun hat" the author states that the piece was written within ten to fourteen days as a result of a wager.

> Das vorliegende Stückchen ist — höherer Wahnsinn, aber — eine humoristische Wirkung ist ihm nicht abzusprechen; sie ist oft genug erprobt. Der Verfasser will nicht leugnen, dass diese Schauer-Tragödie dann zumeist gefiel, wenn die Rollen derselben von Künstlern (das heisst durch Schauspieler von Fach) gespielt wurden. . . . Carlos erscheint fast durch das ganze Stück angesäuselt. . . . Die Catastrophe im vierten Act, wo Carlos zusammenbricht, muss so natürlich als möglich gespielt werden, damit das Publicum das ganze als Zufall, als Wirklichkeit, nicht als vorbereitet, betrachtet.

This Preface is signed "Hyled Nanidref." (Ferdinand Hyle?)

The descriptions of the principal characters will give an idea of the ridiculous nature of the farce:

> Pedro Philippi, Rentier, Tyrann von Padua, Stier von Uri; Lisette von Canossa, erste Liebhaberin, seine Gemahlin, ein zweifelhafter Character; Dum Carlos, ihr Sprössling, Einjährig-Freiwilliger bei der Infanterie, Trunkenbold und Courschneider; Infanteristin Clara Eugenia, Tochter des Regiments, Kind von drei Jahren, deshalb noch nicht aufgewachsen; Marquör Posinger, Stegreifritter mit dem schwarzen Mantel, Lohndiener; Herzog von Albing, ein abscheulicher Intriguant, stirbt sehr fromm; Domingo-Deckblatt, Cuba-Einlage, Beichtvater; Der Gross Requisiteur der Monarchie, taub; Don Ludwig Meerkater, Barbier der Königin, blind.

At the end of the list of characters appears the statement: "Mit furchtbar neuen Decorationen. Ort der Handlung: Bin ich nicht zu sagen verpflichtet."

The play covers fifty-eight pages and is written mainly in rhymed verse. Frequently poems are taken over bodily from comic periodicals. Toward the end of the play all the grandees kill themselves. Carlos is about to commit suicide, but Albing quickly stabs him from behind. At the very end all the corpses rise, put on fool's caps, and sing:

> Wir freuen uns zusamm'n
> Mit übergrosser Müthigkeit,
> Gott sei Dank, das Stück ist aus,
> Ruft alle jetzt: heraus.

90. Bayard Taylor. An adaptation of Schiller's *Don Carlos*. The manuscript is dated New York, January 14, 1878.

In Mrs. Bayard Taylor's book (*On Two Continents; Memories of Half a Century*, by Marie Hansen Taylor, with the coöperation of Lilian Bayard Taylor Kiliani [New York, 1905], pp. 271, 272) mention is made of a translation and adaptation of Schiller's play. Bayard Taylor undertook the work at the suggestion of the well-known actor, Lawrence Barrett.

As a result of correspondence carried on with Mrs. Taylor in 1911 and 1912, I was allowed to examine the manuscript. It was sent to Cambridge, and remained in the Treasure Room of the Harvard Library from May until December 1912. With the permission of Mrs. Taylor and of Mrs. Kiliani, her daughter, I published an article describing Taylor's work (F. W. C. Lieder, "Bayard Taylor's Adaptation of Schiller's Don Carlos" in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, vol. XVI, no. 1, pp. 27–53).

With Taylor's manuscript there came also Lawrence Barrett's outline (in his own handwriting) giving his ideas of how Schiller's play was to be adapted for the American stage — two large foolscap sheets written on both sides and a small sheet with only a few lines written on it. Barrett indicates how *Don Carlos* is to be made an actable play. Certain dramatic motives are to be more strongly emphasized — the suspicion cherished by Alba and Domingo against Carlos, the power of Alba and Domingo over Eboli, Eboli's love for Carlos, Carlos's love for the Queen, Carlos's denunciation of Posa when the latter is suspected of treachery. Dialogues are in most cases to be shortened; the language is to be made stronger. The audience is to be reminded continually that Posa is working for Carlos. The scene with the Inquisitor is to be omitted. In other words, the plot is to be simplified as much as possible. *Don Carlos* is to be a play, not a dramatic poem.

Taylor's manuscript adaptation of Schiller's play comprises one hundred and twenty-five unruled sheets in Taylor's own handwriting. The last sheet is signed "Bayard Taylor, Jan. 14, 1878, New York." It will be remembered that in 1878 Taylor was appointed minister to Germany by President Hayes; he died in Berlin on December 19, 1878. His adaptation of *Don Carlos*, therefore, was practically his last piece of literary work.

Taylor followed closely Barrett's directions. In my article I have reprinted Barrett's outline in full; several quotations in that outline indicate that he used Boylan's translation as a basis. As for Taylor's adaptation, I followed the following scheme: first, to show what scenes in Schiller's play correspond to the scenes in Taylor's adaptation; secondly, to quote important passages from Taylor's adaptation; thirdly, to show how Taylor translated those lines that have become familiar quotations from *Don Carlos*; fourthly, to sum up and emphasize the importance of Taylor's attempt to make Schiller's play actable on the American stage.

Taylor, by following Barrett's directions, managed to cut down Schiller's original by more than half (Schiller has 5370 lines, Taylor has only 2599). The play reads well and seems to be fitted for the American stage. Taylor made the ending particularly effective. Carlos is turned over to an officer, not to the Grand Inquisitor. Carlos, according to the stage directions, "suddenly shakes himself free from the grasp of the officers, and stands proudly erect, pointing at the King"; then he speaks the closing lines of the play:

> I meant to live: I meant to help and bless
> My suffering people, — but the end has come.
> You are no more my father and my king:
> Your face says death — you are my murderer!
> Go, branded by a blacker crime than Cain's,
> Till death shall scourge you into history!

During the war, when Mrs. Taylor moved from New York to Parthenkirchen in South Germany, she lost track of the manuscript. Let us hope that some day it may be recovered.

91. JOHN ELFORD, *Philip II. A dramatic romance*, London, 1880.

Elford's Preface begins: "No legend of modern times has had as much attention paid to it as that of the loves and sorrows of Don Carlos, Prince of the Asturias, and Isabel of Valois, Philip II's young and beautiful queen." In spite of this broad statement, Elford refers only to Brantôme, Otway, Alfieri, and Schiller. He regrets that the story of the mighty wrong endured by Carlos and Isabel at the King's hands has been kept in the background by Alfieri and Schiller, thus making the unhappy lovers stand out as much sinners as sinned against.

Elford concludes his Preface as follows:

> In the following version of the legend I have tried to present the commonly received incidents of the story — the betrothal of the young couple, its rupture by Philip, and the consequences thereof — in such a way that our sympathy for Carlos and Isabel in their trouble is, I hope, never felt to be a divided or imperfect one.

The play covers two hundred and forty-two pages (there are 22 pages of notes), is divided into five acts, and is written in a combination of prose and blank verse. Carlos is turned over to the Inquisition. The last scenes give the sickening details, related by the hired murderers, of the torture and death of Carlos.

There is a copy of the book in the Harvard University Library.

92. Ein Wort. *Roman von Georg Ebers*, Stuttgart und Leipzig, 1883.

The Preface, which is dated November 10, 1882, states that the author dedicates the book to Dr. Carl von Burkhardt. Many of the scenes of the novel are laid in the court of Philip II of Spain. Ebers, a trained historian, represents Don Carlos as he really was — a deformed and eccentric youth. At one point Ebers gives an account of a court ball, and has a young artist named Ulrich describe the dignitaries who were present. The description of Don Carlos (p. 196) is strikingly accurate: "Der verwachsene Thronfolger Don Karlos beunruhigte mit plumpen Scherzen eine Reihe von Hofdamen, welche die Fächer vor das Gesicht hielten, und nicht wagten, den Sohn des Herrschers ihr Misfallen fühlen zu lassen."

93. C. Martinez, *Der Dämon des Südens. Historischer Roman*, Leipzig, 1883. (In three volumes bound in one.)

The title of the novel is doubtlessly suggested by Schiller. In line 1758 of his *Don Carlos*, Schiller, in referring to King Philip II, talks of "dem berühmten Handelsmann in Süden." In his translation of the Introduction (*Précis historique*) of Mercier's *Portrait de Phillippe second* (this translation was published in the *Thalia*, Heft 2 [1786], pp. 71–104) Schiller uses the expression "Dieser Dämon in Süden."

The general plot of the novel is neatly outlined by Martínez in one of his paragraphs (I, 75):

> Die dritte Vermählung Philipps II mit der Braut seines eigenen Sohnes Don Carlos hatte die treuen Niederländer gegen den grausamen Vater nicht besser gesinnt gemacht. Ihm galt es also selbst das ganze Lebensglück des einzigen Sohnes nichts, wenn er seine Wünsche befriedigen wollte! Man wusste, das Don Carlos seine Braut und jetzige Stiefmutter liebte und verehrte, und dass er seit der Stunde, wo der Vater die Braut für sich nahm, den König mit der ganzen Glut des Südens hasste.

The novel has the usual complications and motives that are found in St. Réal, Schiller, and their followers. Carlos dies as a result of imprisonment.

94. DON CARLO. OPERA. *Parole di Mêry e Camillo du Locle. Versione Italiana di A. de Lauzières ed A. Zanardini. Musica di Giuseppe Verdi. Nuova edizione in quattro atti. Teatro Alla Scala. Carnevale-Quaresima. 1883–84. Impresa A. Ferrari,* Milano (1884).

This version is not the same as the one that Williams followed in 1867 (see no. 78). Apparently the phrase "Nuova edizione" means that an earlier Italian version was taken as basis, but that additional changes were made.

The first act is placed at St. Just, the second in Madrid, the third in Madrid, the fourth at St. Just.

There is a copy of this libretto in the British Museum.

95. DER PRINZ DON CARLOS. DIE GRÖSSTE TAT DES KAISERS KARL V. *Zwei Dramen von Don Diego de Enciso aus dem Spanischen in fünffüssigen Iamben übertragen von Adolf Schaeffer,* Leipzig, 1887.

Schaeffer's work may be regarded as one of the most important adaptations of Enciso's work. He used two editions of the Spanish text — that of 1689 and that of 1773 (both published at Valencia). The edition of 1689 had a happy ending, which Schaeffer regards as inconsistent with the aesthetic taste of the German public: Carlos is miraculously cured by S. Diego of Alcalá from fever and from injuries sustained through a fall. For this happy ending Schaeffer substitutes the tragic ending of the edition of 1773: Carlos in a fever sees visions of Philip II with Queen Anna, of Philip III with Queen Margaret, and of Philip IV with his Queen; while he speculates about the future, the King enters, realizes that Carlos is mortally ill, has him put to bed, and soon afterwards is informed that the Prince has died.

Eboli and Posa do not appear in the drama. Carlos is *not* in love with his stepmother. He is represented as a high-strung, impetuous, feverishly impatient youth. The various characters are best described by Schaeffer (p. 6):

> Wir finden in unserem Trauerspiel folgende Charaktere: Don Carlos, von einem verzogenen Kinde zu einem zügellosen Menschen aufgewachsen; Philipp II, als würdigen aber pedantischen, staatsklugen, zähe an seiner Autorität fest haltenden Herrscher; Herzog Alba als unerschrockenen, weder im Verkehr mit dem König, noch mit dem Prinzen je seine Fassung verlierenden Mann des Eisens; Cardinal Espinosa (Grossinquisitor) als Günstling des Königs, den die Ungnade seines Herrn im letzten Aufzuge ganz zu Boden schmettert. — Von den Charakteren des Schiller'schen Stücks hat nur der-

jenige des Königs einige Aehnlichkeit mit dem Enciso'schen; Gegensätze sind: Don Carlos, der ideale Liebes- und Freiheitsschwärmer; Herzog Alba, der Ränkeschmied, der sowohl vor dem König, als vor dem Prinzen zittert; umgekehrt der Cardinal Espinosa, vor welchem sich der König demüthig beugt.

Carlos has the fixed idea that his father's courtiers are plotting against him, and are seeking to keep him from winning his father's favor and from sharing in the government of the realm. He wishes to be sent to Flanders. He is in love with Violante (Alba's niece), who in turn is in love with Fadrique (Alba's nephew). The King finally decides that his son is incurably ill. Carlos falls into a raging fever and dies.

The King remarks briefly:

Der Fieber war der Anlass seines Todes.

To this Ruy Gómez de Silva replies:

Nicht minder aber die Unmässigkeit
Der Lebensweise; Immer Schnee geniessen,
In nassen Tüchern schlafen, kaum bekleidet
Zu gehen, alles überhaupt zu thun,
Was seinem Körper nicht zuträglich war.

And the King summarizes the situation:

Sein Naturell hat mehr als alles Andre
Ihm Tod gebracht. (Act III, Scene xxv.)

In the last scene (Act III, Scene xxvi) the King summons Fadrique and Violante, tells them to join hands, grants them an income of ten thousand ducats, gives Alba orders to proceed to Flanders, and asks Don Diego to try to relieve the general tension by saying cheerful things. At the close of the play all those on the stage shout:

Und hier, mit einem Beifallruf, wenn dessen
Der Dichter würdig ist, schliesst ab "Der Prinz
Don Carlos"; habet Nachsicht mit den Mängeln!

Although Schaeffer has taken over from the edition of 1773, as he says, "nur einen verschwindend kleinen Teil," yet this small part (about 100 lines) contains the remarkably effective tragic ending. He defends his procedure (p. 9) as follows:

> Obgleich ich mir leider der Vermuthung nicht erwehren kann, dass diese Abweichung (trotz der einfachen Angabe unsres Dichters als Autor am Anfange des Drucks) von einem Ueberarbeiter herrührt, habe ich dieselbe aus dem oben angegebenen Grunde doch adoptiert.

Three years later, in his *Geschichte des Spanischen Nationaldramas* (Leipzig, 1890), Schaeffer ventures the guess that the tragic ending is the work of Cañizares (see nos. 4 and 19).

Schaeffer's adaptation has long been out of print, and is not to be found in the important libraries of Leipzig. There is a copy in the British Museum and one in the Staatsbibliothek at Munich.

96. IPOLLYTE RODRIGUES, *Philippe II*, Paris, 1889 or 1890.

The drama is written in prose, and is influenced apparently by Nuñez de Arce's *El Haz de Leña*. In one scene Rodrigues, like Nuñez de Arce, alludes to the words spoken to King Philip by Don Carlos de Sesa as he is being led to the stake.

97. LA SOMBRA DE FELIPE II. *Novella histórica original de D. Ramón Ortega y Frias*, Madrid (1892).

The date of the scene of action is fixed by the opening lines of the novel: "A las nueve de la noche del 5 de Diciembre de 1568 apenas transitaba alguna persona por las calles de Madrid."

The fate of Carlos and of the Queen is brought out in the following passages.

> No puede vuestra Majestad haber olvidado que don Juan de Benavides mereció toda la confianza del muy desgraciado Principe á quien Dios llamó á la eternidad aun no hace cinco meses. [Page 10 — Don Pedro de Romales.]
>
> La importancia de lo que don Pedro acababa de decir la comprenderá el lector cuando nos ocupemos de la muerte de doña Isabel de Valois, llamada Isabel de la Paz, tan virtuosa como desdichada esposa de Felipe II. Ahora basta decir que era entonces opinión muy admitida que la Reina murió envenenada, y hay motivos para creer que no era equivocada la pública opinión. [Page 11.]

The friendship of Don Carlos for Benevides (he seems to be the counterpart of Schiller's Posa) is touched upon repeatedly. The fact that the Queen is called "Isabel de la Paz" is of interest. (See Figueróa's play; no. 60.)

There is a copy of the book in the Boston Public Library.

98. DER PRINZ VON ASTURIEN. *Trauerspiel in drei Aufzügen des d. Ximénes de Enciso. Für die deutsche Bühne bearbeitet von J. Herzog*, Wien, 1894.

Herzog has no sympathy for those who prefer a happy to a tragic ending. In other words, he follows the version of 1773 (in which Carlos dies of his own excesses) rather than that of 1634 (in which Carlos is miraculously cured of his illness).

Herzog's comment (p. v) is of interest:

> Wenn die historische Forschung die haarscharfe Wahrheit der Characteristik des Prinzen vom Anfange des Dramas bis zu den letzten Scenen des letzten Actes erweist, ja wenn sie das Schauspiel des don Ximénes de Enciso geradezu als ein Quellenwerk für die Schilderung des Conflictes zwischen Phillip II und seinem Sohne in der Aufbewahrung seltsamer Vorfälle und seiner Züge erscheinen lässt, so hat man kein Recht dem Dichter plötzlich den tiefen Sturz von seiner Höhe zu der gemeinen Concession an den Zeitgeschmack, der durchaus einen guten Ausgang haben wollte, zuzumuthen.

99. CHARLES RAYMOND, *Don Carlos. Drame en cinq actes et onze tableaux d'après Schiller. Représenté pour la première fois au Théâtre national de l'Odéon le jeudi 15 octobre 1896*, Paris, 1896.

The drama is in prose and extends over two hundred and seven pages. The list of characters omits three names from Schiller's list — Farnese, Medina Sidonia, and Mercado. Curiously enough, the first character on Raymond's list is "Le Grand Inquisiteur."

Raymond omits the following scenes found in Schiller: I, vii–ix; II, x, xii; III, vi, vii; IV, iv, vi, viii, xi, xiv–xvi, xxi–xxiv; V, vi, vii. In other words, Raymond omits twenty of Schiller's sixty-nine scenes. Other scenes are reduced in length; frequently two or more of Schiller's scenes are compressed by Raymond into one.

A few other changes are of interest. Schiller's "Zwei edle Häuser in Mirandola" become "Deux nobles families à Florence, les Strozzi et les Colonna"; Schiller's "Fernando" becomes "Rezzo"; "Mathilde" becomes "Bianca." The play ends (as in Schiller) with the King's words: "Cardinal, j'ai accompli mon oeuvre, faites la vôtre."

There is a copy of Raymond's adaptation in the British Museum.

100. FRANCIS MARION CRAWFORD, *In the Palace of the King. A Love Story of Old Madrid*, New York, 1900.

The time at which the events of the novel take place is November, 1574. The principal characters are King Philip II, Eboli, Medina Sidonia, Don John of Austria, Ruy Gómez, Pérez, Alva, Mendoza, and the latter's daughter, María Dolores. Although Don Carlos and Elizabeth of Valois had died six years before, their fate is frequently alluded to. A few passages will illustrate this point.

> It was well known in the court that two or three years earlier, during the horrible intrigue that ended in the death of Don Carlos, the Princess of

Eboli had done her best to bring Don John of Austria to her feet, and had failed notoriously, because he was already in love with Dolores. [Page 239.]

A high voice pierced the low roar, keen and cutting as a knife, but no one knew whose it was, and Philip almost reeled as he heard the words, "Remember Don Carlos! Don John of Austria is gone to join Don Carlos and Queen Isabel!" [Page 258.]

They were quite sure that Don John of Austria had been murdered by the King's orders, like Don Carlos and Queen Isabel and a fair number of other unfortunate persons. [Page 292.]

If you will not write the order to release my father, I shall go out at once. In ten minutes there will be a revolution in the palace, and to-morrow all Spain will be on fire to avenge your brother. Spain has not forgotten Don Carlos yet! There are those alive who saw you give Queen Isabel the draught that killed her — with your own hand. [Page 320 — Dolores to the King.]

Either the King had meant to kill Don John himself, or he had ordered Mendoza to do so. That much was clear to any one who had known the secret of Don Carlos' death, and the dwarf had been one of the last who had talked with the unfortunate Prince before that dark tragedy. [Page 336.]

He [the jester] knew her [Princess Eboli's] secret, too, as he had formerly known how she had forged the letters that brought about the deaths of Don Carlos and of Queen Isabel. [Page 337.]

Crawford's novel is an excellent example of a treatment in which the spirit of Don Carlos influences the characters, even though the Prince himself is no longer living.

101. ÉMILE VERHAEREN, *Philippe II, tragédie en trois actes*, Paris, 1901.

A later edition of the play (1909) has the description "Épisode dramatique en trois actes." The form is a mixture of prose and of Alexandrine verse. The principal characters are Philip, Carlos, the Countess of Clermont, the confessor Bernardo, Don Juan, Don Francisco de Hoyos, the priest Hierónimo, the Count of Feria. The minor characters are soldiers and monks. All the acts take place in the rooms or the garden of the Escurial.

Carlos meets his mistress, the Countess of Clermont, in the garden of the palace. Interesting it is to note that Carlos is represented as being in love, not with the Queen, but with her lady-in-waiting, Clermont. During the love-scene, Carlos expresses his hopes of escape from Spain and of a glorious career in Flanders — hopes in which later he is apparently supported by his friend Don Juan.

The King's suspicions are aroused by his father-confessor, Fray Bernardo. Although Carlos and Clermont protest against the accusations, the King finally decides to follow his confessor's advice. Carlos is condemned and is strangled by soldiers. The King enters the room just as Carlos is breathing his last, and he falls on his knees before the body of his son.

The story, as evolved by Verhaeren, differs from that told by St. Réal; Carlos and the Queen are *not* in love. At the same time, the story does not follow the views of the early Spanish dramatists and of modern historians; Carlos is not represented as being the victim of his own excesses. DuLong's theory (II, 160–1620), that Verhaeren followed Gachard's historical sketch (*Don Carlos et Philippe II* [Paris, 1863]) has much in its favor. Verhaeren's drama, one might say in conclusion, is one of the important recent treatments of the Don Carlos theme.

102. DON KARLOS. *Trauerspiel in fünf Akten von Schiller. Mit Benutzung der älteren Ausgaben für die Aufführung eingerichtet von Eugen Kilian*, Bühnenausgabe, Leipzig (1904).

This stage version was performed for the first time at Karlsruhe on January 8, 1903. It is printed as number 4569 in the Reclam series.

Kilian points out that a stage performance ought to last between three and a half and four hours. He objects to the methods hitherto employed in producing Schiller's play; some directors have produced the play as it was finally published (the performance in that case lasting at least six hours), others have presented the play in two parts on successive evenings, others have reduced the size of the play by omitting scenes that are not indispensable for a correct understanding of the drama.

Kilian has retained every scene that helps the spectator in any way to grasp the threads of motivation (in this connection he calls the scene with the Grand Inquisitor "Das Juwel des Dramas"), he has omitted all lines which in his opinion represent superfluous rhetoric, and he has inserted important lines from the "Thalia" version, from the first complete edition of 1787, and from the Hamburg manuscript version. Schiller's drama, as now printed, contains five thousand three hundred and seventy lines; Kilian's stage version (which can be played within four hours) contains about three thousand two hundred and twenty lines. The work of adapting Schiller's drama for the stage has been skillfully done.

103. DON KARLOS, INFANT VON SPANIEN. *Ein dramatisches Gedicht in fünf Aufzügen von Friedrich von Schiller. Für die deutsche Bühne bearbeitet und inszeniert von C. W. Schmidt*, Halle a.d.S. (1904).

The Preface of this version is dated Berlin, May, 1904. The author states that it is his purpose to give a version that can be acted in not more than four hours. His theory about the method of shortening the drama may be repeated here:

> Eine weitere Schwierigkeit bietet das Zusammenziehen der Szenen und auch hier war der Bearbeiter bemüht, so weit wie möglich zu gehen, ohne der Wahrscheinlichkeit Eintrag zu tun. Alles Theatermässige, besonders das gewaltsame Zusammenschieben von Szenen, die nicht zueinander gehören, wurde als Feind der Illusion streng vermieden und daraus erklärt sich, das auch im Zusammenlegen der Szenen gewisse Grenzen innegehalten werden mussten.

The five acts of the drama have twelve different settings. Seven sketches, showing the arrangement of the scenery and the disposition of the characters on the stage, are provided. Schiller's stage directions are supplemented by helpful suggestions that are doubtless based on experience. Lines that are absolutely dispensable have been omitted; others, that can be recited at the discretion of the director or of the actor, are printed in small type. Thus of the one hundred and twenty-seven lines in Schiller's first scene, Schmidt has omitted thirteen, he has printed thirty-nine in small type, and he has shifted six to the beginning of the second scene. All in all, Schmidt's version is skillfully made.

104. RICHARD MANSFIELD. An acting version of Schiller's *Don Carlos*, 1905.

When Mansfield decided to perform one of Schiller's plays to commemorate the centennial of the poet's death, his choice was finally narrowed down to *Don Carlos* and *Wallenstein*, and the former carried the day.

Mansfield's version is based upon R. D. Boylan's English translation of Schiller's drama. The preliminary performance was given at the Valentine Theatre, Toledo, Ohio, on October 27, 1905. It was a part of Mansfield's repertoire during the season of 1905–06. (See Paul Wilstach, *Richard Mansfield the Man and Actor* [New York, 1908], pp. 435–437.)

Before 1905 there had been only a single performance in English of any version of Schiller's drama — that of Dunlap's adaptation (no. 34) on May 6, 1799, at the Park Theatre in New York, and that one performance had been pronounced a failure. In other words, Mansfield is the only man who has performed more than once an English version of Schiller's *Don Carlos* anywhere in the world since the original publication of Schiller's drama in 1787.

105. DON CARLOS. AN HISTORICAL PLAY. *In Four Acts. Founded upon Fredrick von Schiller's famous tragedy of the same name. By Espy Williams. Author of The Duke's Jester, A Cavalier of France, The Man in Black, The Husband, Parrhasius.* [190–.]

The play is in a manuscript of fifty-five typewritten sheets with a paper cover on which is the imprint: "Selwyn & Co., Play Brokers, Knickerbocker Theatre Building, 1402 Broadway, New York." The library card of the New York Public Library (where the manuscript is now preserved) gives the full name of the author as Espy William Hendricks Williams and his dates as 1852 to 1908. The card also gives the place and date of the origin of the manuscript as New York, [190–]. We may assume, then, that the play was written sometime between 1900 and 1908.

The scene of the play is laid in Madrid. The date is given as 1560 (probably a misreading, on the part of the typist, for 1568). The author directs that the costumes be the same as "In the Palace of the King." (F. Marion Crawford's novel with this title was published in 1900.)

The characters are Philip, Carlos, Alva, Posa, Domingo, Lerma, Taxis, Feria, Medina, Mercado, Isabella, Eboli. The following characters employed by Schiller are omitted by Williams: Farnese, Clara Eugenia, Olivarez, Mondecar, Fuentes, the Grand Inquisitor, and the Prior. The Inquisition, in other words, plays no part in Williams's drama.

The action is swift and closely knit. Alva is represented as having planned the marriage between Philip and Isabella. Posa is in love with Eboli, who, in turn, is in love with Carlos. Eboli's name is also Isabella, hence Carlos supposes that a note from her is one from the Queen. Upon information furnished by Eboli, the King and his courtiers come upon Carlos in the Queen's apartments, and arrest him. In the last scene Eboli visits Carlos, and tells him of the illness of the Queen. After she leaves, Alva appears disguised in a monk's garb. He carries a tray on which there is a meal, a pitcher of water, a decanter of wine, and two empty goblets. He puts poison into the decanter. Carlos asks for wine, and Alva fills a goblet. His silence, however, arouses the suspicions of Carlos, who immediately requests that Alva drink first. Finally Alva throws aside his disguise, and is about to kill Carlos. Carlos seizes Alva by the throat. The King and his court appear. Carlos grasps the second goblet and drains it. Eboli enters, and announces the death of the Queen. Carlos dies as he utters the words: "Isabella — yes — I — follow — thee."

SUMMARY

In the preceding list of one hundred and five treatments of the Don Carlos theme we find many types of literary exposition — tragedy, comedy, novel, historical novelette, dramatic and dialogue poem, "Heldenbrief," and opera. Thirty of the treatments are written in French, twenty-seven in German, seventeen in English (five of these are American), thirteen in Italian, nine in Spanish, eight in Dutch, and one in Portuguese. Four treatments are in manuscripts that have never been published — Becattini (no. 20), Tieck (no. 41), Bayard Taylor (no. 90), and Espy Williams (no. 105). Six others, though performed at least once, were apparently never published — Dunlap (no. 34), Liquet (no. 44), Raynouard (no. 50), Anonymous French (no. 58), Lambinon (no. 64), and Mansfield (no. 104). The literary treatments extend over about three centuries and a quarter, from the composition of the poem *Diogenes* in 1581 (only thirteen years after the death of Carlos and seventeen years before the death of Philip II) to the appearance of the works by Crawford, Verhaeren, Kilian, Schmidt, Mansfield, and Espy Williams during the first decade of the twentieth century.

Disregarding the comedies and burlesques (nos. 41, 71, 74, 86, 89) and the treatments that make only casual mention of Don Carlos without assigning to him an important rôle, we find that the writers who were attracted by the story of the unfortunate prince dwell upon the conflict between father and son. This conflict manifests itself by the suspicious attitude of Philip toward Carlos and by the rebellious behavior of Carlos toward Philip. In most of the treatments the cause of the conflict is found in the bitter rivalry of Philip and Carlos for the love of Elizabeth of Valois. The fiction that Philip robbed his son of a bride spread rapidly after the publication of St. Réal's story in 1672.

Of the six treatments that preceded St. Réal's in point of time, two — the poem *Diogenes* (no. 1) and the biographical sketches by Brantôme (no. 3) — were utilized by St. Réal, and in them he could have found references to the love-triangle of Philip, Carlos, and Elizabeth. The other four treatments (nos. 2, 4, 5, and 6) were unknown to St. Réal.

One of these four treatments, *Le Pâtissier de Madrigal* (no. 2), is different from any of the later treatments; it simply tells of the appearance of a man who had once been condemned to death by his father, who had managed to escape with the help of courtiers, and who is supposed to be Don Carlos. Of the remaining three treatments that preceded St. Réal's — those by Enciso (no. 4), Calderón (no. 5), and Montalván (no. 6) — the most important is Enciso's. Enciso's *El Príncipe Don Carlos* influenced not only Calderón and Montalván; it influenced also three treatments that appeared later than St. Réal's — Cañizares (no. 19), Schaeffer (no. 95), and Herzog (no. 98). Cañizares adopted an ending different from Enciso's; Carlos, instead of being cured miraculously from a fever, dies as the result of his wild excesses. The Enciso–Cañizares version (followed later by Schaeffer) is the most important of those comparatively few treatments that make no mention of an affection on Carlos's part for his father's wife; it is, moreover, the version that corresponds most closely with historical facts.

St. Réal, on the other hand, though he gives the reader the impression of having used historical sources, emphasizes the rivalry of Philip and Carlos for the love of Elizabeth of Valois. This element in his *Don Carlos, Nouvelle Historique* (1672) appealed to later writers on the theme, especially to the important dramatists Otway (no. 10), Campistron (no. 13), Alfieri (no. 22), and Schiller (no. 27), and these dramatists influenced numerous others. Thus fully nine tenths of the serious literary treatments of the theme are based, directly or indirectly, on the story as told by St. Réal.

The story of Don Carlos is of fascinating and perennial interest. Levi, toward the end of his final chapter (in the 1924 edition), states that "la leggenda di Don Carlos é una della più ricche e della più suggestive della letteratura moderna"; Madame de Staël is equally enthusiastic when she says (*De l'Allemagne*, chap. 17), "le sujet de Don Carlos est un de plus dramatique que l'histoire puisse offrir"; and Campistron (in the Introduction to his drama *Andronic*) asserts boldly that Don Carlos "est le sujet le plus touchant et le plus singulier qui ait jamais été traité."

One might well speculate whether the unhistorical and popular conception of Don Carlos, as found in St. Réal's account and emphasized in so many later literary treatments, will ever be dispelled.

TRANSLATIONS

I have tried to exclude all translations in the matter presented above. In a few cases, where it has been difficult to draw the line between translation and adaptation, I have listed the work in both places with proper cross-references.

Enciso, *El Principe Don Carlos.*
  German:
    Adolf Schaeffer, Leipzig, 1887. (See nos. 4, 19, 95.)

St. Réal, *Dom Carlos, Nouvelle Historique.*
  English:
    H. J., London, 1676.
    S. C., London, 1720.
    (?), London, 1729.
  German:
    M. M. R., Regensburg, 1735.
    (?), Berlin, 1762.
    (?), Riga, 1767.
    (?), Eisenach, 1784.
    J. L. Schmidt, Worms, 1828.
    H. Hersch, Leipzig, 1885.

Otway, *Don Carlos, Prince of Spain.*
  French:
    Jules Saladin, Paris, 1822. (See no. 54.)
  German:
    C. W. v. Borck, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1757.

Alfieri, *Filippo II.*
  English:
    Fanny Holcroft, London, 1805.
    Lionel T. Berguer, London, 1809.
    Charles Lloyd, London, 1815.
    Charles O. Childe, London, 1844.
  French:
    C. B. Petitot, Paris, 1802.
  German:
    Adolf Seubert, Leipzig (Reclam).

Mercier, *Portrait de Philippe Second.*
  German:
    Friedrich Schiller, in the *Thalia*, 1786. (Only the introduction translated.)

Schiller, *Dom Karlos, Infant von Spanien.*
- Armenian:
  - Georg Barchudarianz, Tiflis, 1878.
- Dano-Norwegian:
  - Johann S. Munch, Christiania, 1822.
  - (?), Copenhagen, 1830.
  - Christian Molbech, Copenhagen, 1831.
- Dutch:
  - [E. M. Post], Amsterdam, 1789.
  - (?), Amsterdam, 1799.
- English:
  - (?), 1795. (See no. 33.)
  - [G. H. Noehden and J. Stoddart], London, 1798.
  - [Symonds?], London, 1798.
  - Benjamin Thompson, London, 1801. (See no. 36.)
  - G. H. Calvert, Baltimore, 1834.
  - J. W. Bruce, Mannheim, 1837.
  - J. Towler, Karlsruhe, 1843.
  - R. D. Boylan, London, 1847.
  - T. S. Egan, London, 1867. (See no. 82.)
  - A. Wood, Edinburgh, 1873.
  - Edw. Stanhope, Dresden and Leipzig, 1888.
- French:
  - Adrien Lezay, Paris, 1799.
  - Th. Braun, Neuchatel, 1847.
  - Marie Uttner, Strassburg, 1848.
  - Adrien Brun, Paris, 1860.
  - Henry Faye, Paris, 1862.
- Hungarian:
  - E. Kovács Gy, 1875.
- Italian:
  - Pompeo Ferrario, Milan, 1819.
  - Andrea Maffei, Milan, 1842.
  - Cesare Bodini, Turin, 1859.
- Polish:
  - Jósef Paszkowski, Warsaw, 1842.
  - M. Budzynski, Leipzig, 1844.
  - W. Tomaszewicz, Levow, 1857.
- Russian:
  - M. Lichonin, Moscow, 1828.
- Spanish:
  - (?), Malaga, 1860.
  - D. C. D., 1881.
  - José Yxart, Barcelona, 1882.
- Swedish:
  - Herm. Bjursten, Stockholm, 1862.

THE RUSSIAN PRIMARY CHRONICLE

THE RUSSIAN PRIMARY CHRONICLE

By Samuel H. Cross

Introduction

Manuscripts and Editions

THE earliest native sources for Russian history are the mediaeval annals. Practically all extant Russian chronicle texts include, regardless of their date and nature, a generally uniform account of the period extending from the traditional origins of Rus to the early twelfth century. This narrative is a literary expression of the civilization and the political system which prevailed while Kiev was the great national and intellectual centre of the Eastern Slavs, and is known as the *Primary Chronicle*, the *Nachalnaya Letopis* (*Начальная Летопись*). Until the nineteenth century, it was habitually attributed to the monk Nestor. Modern investigators have not only placed his authorship in doubt, but have also sought to establish by internal evidence that the *Primary Chronicle*, instead of being a homogeneous work, is a compilation from several chronicle texts of greater antiquity.

The complex of Russian annalistic literature thus has its roots in this relatively uniform text. In all surviving annalistic compilations, however, the existence of independent local tradition, and even of local records, is indicated by traces of information originating from other cities besides Kiev. As the domains controlled by scions of the Kiev ruling family became more independent, the practice of keeping annals extended even to the minor principalities. From the early twelfth century, local chronicles thus appear in every Russian centre of any prominence. Some of these, like the Chronicles of Tver, Pskov, and Novgorod, have been preserved, while others, which have disappeared as independent compositions, survive only as excerpted for the construction of later annalistic complexes. With the consolidation of Muscovite authority in the sixteenth century, the importance of local historical literature declined, and the regional chronicles gave way to extensive compilations which cover the totality of Russian historical evolution from the origins to the established supremacy of Moscow.

The Russian *Primary Chronicle*, formerly referred to as the *Chronicle of Nestor* but in modern Slavic critical literature most frequently termed *The Tale of Bygone Years* (*Povest Vremennykh Let*) from the title occurring at the beginning of the traditional text, thus covers the period which extends from the year 852, the conventional dawn of Russian history, to the second decade of the twelfth century. The *Primary Chronicle* will frequently be referred to in this study as the *Povest.* The most primitive text is preserved in two outstanding redactions, each of which presents a fairly distinct type of textual tradition. The first of these is the Laurentian redaction, so called because the colophon of the manuscript declares that it was copied between January 14 and March 20, 1377, by the monk Lawrence (Lavrentii) for Prince Dmitri Konstantinovich of Suzdal. The second is the Hypatian redaction, dating from the middle of the fifteenth century and copied probably at Pskov from a South-Russian original. It is named after the Hypatian Monastery at Kostroma, where it was discovered. Of these two manuscripts, the Laurentian belongs to the State Public Library at Leningrad, and the Hypatian to the Russian Academy of Sciences, in the same city.

The text of the *Povest* in the Laurentian redaction is notable for the fact that the narrative for the year 1110 is followed by this subscription:

> In the hope of God's grace, I Sylvester, prior of St Michael's, wrote this Chronicle in the year 6624 (1116), during the reign of Prince Vladimir in Kiev, while I was presiding over St Michael's Monastery. May whosoever reads this book remember me in his prayers.

The Hypatian redaction does not contain this colophon, but under the year 1110 supplements at some length the pious reflections contained in the Laurentian text and inspired by the pillar of fire which is alleged to have appeared in that year over the Crypt Monastery. The Laurentian redaction, in distinction to the Hypatian, also includes the *Testament* of Prince Vladimir Monomakh (1053–1126), his letter to Oleg, Prince of Chernigov, and a prayer attributed to Vladimir.[1]

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[1] For descriptions of the MSS, see the introductions to the latest editions of the texts: for the Laurentian, in *Полное Собрание Русских Летописей*, I (2d ed., Leningrad, 1926), and for the Hypatian, in *П.С.Р.Л.*, II (3d ed., Leningrad, 1923), as well as the phototype reproductions of the Laurentian (Leningrad, 1872) and the Hypatian (Leningrad, 1871). The interrelation of these redactions and the subordinate compilations connected with them is conveniently discussed by A. A. Shakhmatov, *Повесть Временных Лет*, I (Leningrad, 1916), xlii–lvii. In the Laurentian MS., the *Povest* is followed by accounts of the Rostov and Suzdal areas extending to 1305, while the Hypatian supplies a detailed treatment of events at Kiev during the twelfth century, followed by a South-Russian chronicle covering the period 1201–1292.

While Peter the Great had directed in 1722 that all chronicle texts should be collected and copied, these documents were not subjected to any critical scrutiny until the nineteenth century. They were, in fact, unknown to western scholars prior to the publication by Gerhard Friedrich Müller, in the first volume of his *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte* (Leningrad, 1732), of excerpts translated from a chronicle text then in the possession of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. These selections aroused the curiosity of August Ludwig Schlözer, who arrived in Russia just as the publication of the Königsberg (Radziwill) chronicle text was begun (1761). The fruit of Schlözer's preoccupation with the Russian chronicles was his *Probe Russischer Annalen* (Bremen and Göttingen, 1768), the first effort at an analysis of the annals and their contents. Though several other chronicles (mostly late texts) were printed before the end of the eighteenth century (the *Sinodalny* in 1781, the *Nikonovski* in 1767–1792, the *Tipografski* in 1784, the *Akademicheski* in 1786, the *Lvovski* in 1792, the *Voskresenski* in 1793, and the *Sofiski Vremennik* in 1795), no attempt was made to publish the Laurentian MS. until 1804. This labor was interrupted by the French invasion, in which perished such scanty presswork as was already complete (ten sheets). A second attempt resulted in the publication of thirteen sheets in 1824. A systematic national study of early source material was, however, undertaken only from 1828 forward, when the Imperial Academy of Sciences equipped and sent out an expedition to Northern Russia for the collection and description of literary monuments and documents preserved in local archives and libraries.

For the arrangement and publication of the materials gathered by this expedition, a permanent organ was created in 1834 and designated as the Archaeographical Commission in the Ministry of Public Instruction. A few years later, the Commission, which is a self-perpetuating body existing to the present day, proceeded to the publication of its most important series, the *Full Collection of Russian Chronicles* (*Полное Собрание Русских Летописей*), of which the initial volume (1846) was the first printed edition of the Laurentian text complete through the year 1305. A reprint of this text through the Sylvestrian colophon but with modified orthography was subsequently edited by Miklosich.[1] The exhaustion of its two reprints from the first edition of the Laurentian text of the *Povest* led the Commission to sponsor the preparation of a modern diplomatic text imitating the edition of the Hypatian MS. prepared in 1908 by Professor A. A. Shakhmatov for the Commission's collection of annals. The resulting text of the *Povest*, edited by Professor E. F. Karski of Leningrad, was thus published in 1926, and it is upon this edition that the present translation is based. The Hypatian MS. was first printed complete in 1843 in the second volume of the *Full Collection*. A reprint of 1871 was superseded first by Shakhmatov's second edition of 1908, and more recently by the third edition of 1923 (to the year 1146), prepared by the same scholar, who was until his death in 1920 the greatest modern student of Russian annalistic literature.

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[1] *Chronica Nestoris* (textum slovenicum edidit F. Miklosich, Vienna, 1860).

A reprint of the Hypatian text, with a Polish translation, is contained in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, I (Lemberg, 1864). The first translation of the *Povest* into a Western European language is that of Joseph Müller, *Altrussische Geschichte nach Nestor* (Berlin, 1812), followed by the French translation of L. Paris, *La Chronique de Nestor* (Paris, 1834). The latter was superseded by Louis Léger's rendering under the title *La Chronique dite de Nestor* (Paris, 1884). A Czechish translation by K. Erben appeared in 1867 (*Nestorův Letopis* přeložil K. E., Prague), a revision of which by Professor Miloš Weingart of the University of Bratislava (Czechoslovakia) is now in preparation. A Danish translation by C. W. Smith is also available (*Nestors Russiske Kronike oversåt og forklaret*, Copenhagen, 1869). The present translation is the first English rendering of the *Povest*.

Authorship

Nestor, to whom the *Primary Chronicle* has long been attributed, was actually a monk of the historic Crypt Monastery in Kiev at the close of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century. He is the undisputed author of two biographical works: (1) *The Narrative of the Life, Death, and Miracles of the Holy and Blessed Martyrs Boris and Gleb*; and (2) *The Life of the Venerable Theodosius*, Prior of the Crypt Monastery. One South-Russian chronicle text of the sixteenth century, the so-called *Khlebnikovski*, which is probably derived from the same prototype as the Hypatian, mentions Nestor specifically as the author.[1] The Laurentian redaction, however, contains in its title no characterization whatever of the author or of his monastic affiliations. Nestor was similarly mentioned as the author of the *Chronicle* in three lost chronicle texts used by the historian V. N. Tatishchev (1686–1750).[1] Apart from this somewhat questionable testimony, the only direct evidence of Nestor's activity as an annalist is contained in two passages which occur in all versions of the Kiev *Paterikon*, a biographical work on the solitaries of the Crypt Monastery dating from the first half of the thirteenth century.[2] In the second of these passages, it is also asserted that Nestor likewise wrote biographies of four celebrated monks of the Crypt Monastery (Damian, Ephraim, Matthew, and Isaac). If Nestor was the author or the compiler of the *Povest*, which contains extensive material dealing with SS Boris and Gleb, on the Prior Theodosius, and on various distinguished solitaries of his establishment, a general agreement in subject matter, as well as marked similarity in style, might be expected to characterize the products of the same pen.

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[1] The evolution of this passage is as follows: L^2, 1: "се повѣсти времяньныхъ лѣтъ откуду есть пошла руская земя"; H^3, 2: "повѣсть временныхъ лѣтъ черноризца Федосьева монастыря Печерскаго откуду есть пошла Русская

The relation between the Nestorian *Life of Boris and Gleb* and the chronicle account of these saints has been variously viewed, though on the whole there is some reason to believe that Nestor's work was one of the sources of the *Povest* account.[3] An appreciable diversity in detail is evident, however, between the Nestorian *Life* and the *Chronicle*.

земля"; *Khleb.* (var. quoted H^3, 1): "повѣсть временныхъ лѣтъ *Нестера* черноризца монастыря Печерскаго откуда есть пошла руская земля." "[These are] the tale(s) of bygone years of (Nestor [*Khleb.*]) a monk of the Theodosian Crypt Monastery [*Khleb.*-Нур.] whence came the land of Rus."

[1] V. N. Tatishchev, *Исторія Россіи*, I (Leningrad, 1768), 51–60.

[2] V. Yakovlev, *Памятники Русской Литературы XII–XIII вековъ* (Leningrad, 1872), p. cxxix: "Нестеръ же, иже написа лѣтописець"; p. cxxxv: "яко же бл҃жныи Нестеръ в лѣтописцѣ написа о блаженныхъ отцѣхъ, о Дамьяии, Ӱеремѣи, и Матфеѣ, и Исакіи." The most modern edition of the *Paterikon* is D. I. Abramovich, *Патерик Киевского Печерского Монастыря* (Leningrad, 1911). Cf. also, V. M. Istrin, *Очерк Истории Древнерусской Литературы* (Leningrad, 1922), pp. 199–208; S. A. Bugoslavski, "Характер и Объем Литературной Деятельности преп. Нестора," in *Изв. Отд. Русск. Яз. и Слов.*, XIX (Leningrad, 1914), 190 ff.

[3] For text of the Nestorian *Life of Boris and Gleb*, cf. I. I. Sreznevski, *Сказания о Святых Борисе и Глебе* (Leningrad, 1860), pp. 1–40, with beautiful lithograph reproduction of the text in the fourteenth-century *Silvestrovski Sbornik*. Cf. also, V. M. Istrin, *Очерк*, pp. 118–127; Bugoslavski, *loc. cit.*, pp. 131 ff.; A. A. Shakhmatov, *Разыскания о Летиписных Сводах* (Leningrad, 1908), pp. 29–97; *Повесть Временных Лет* (Leningrad, 1916) pp. lxvi–lxvii; E. Shchepkin, "Zur Nestorfrage," *Arch. Slav. Phil.*, XIX (Berlin, 1897), 29, 530.

In the former, both Boris and Gleb are described as with Vladimir at the time of his fatal illness; in the *Chronicle*, Vladimir sends Boris forth to fight the Pechenegs, and the news of his father's demise meets Boris upon his homeward journey. Similarly, while the *Chronicle* represents Vladimir as assigning to Boris and Gleb the respective domains of Rostov and Murom, the *Life* by Nestor reports that he assigned to Boris the city of Vladimir, but kept Gleb by his side. The *Life* also remarks that upon Vladimir's death, Svyatopolk came to Kiev, but according to the *Povest*, he was present in the capital at the time. According to Nestor, Boris is killed at once by a thrust through the heart; the *Chronicle* shows him laid upon a cart mortally wounded, and dragged off to Svyatopolk, who despatches two Varangians to administer the *coup de grâce*. In the Nestorian *Life*, after the murder of Boris, Gleb flees northward, and is pursued by the minions of Svyatopolk, but the *Povest* account reports Gleb as summoned treacherously by Svyatopolk from Murom. On his way south, he is met and warned by messengers from his brother Yaroslav, but too late to escape Svyatopolk's emissaries, who slay him near Smolensk. The *Chronicle* likewise supplies such factual details as geographical data and the names both of the brothers' servants and of their murderers, all of which are absent from the narrative belonging to Nestor. There is, however, little resemblance in style and method between the *Chronicle* narrative and the Nestorian *Life*. The former is a detailed treatment of the circumstances surrounding the assassination of the two princes. The latter is a religious biography in the best manner of early Russian hagiography.

A comparative study of the two accounts presents no stylistic evidence that Nestor was in any way concerned with the composition or compilation of the *Primary Chronicle*, while the contradictions between the two narratives point rather in the opposite direction.

A somewhat more fruitful basis for comparison is provided by Nestor's *Life of Theodosius* and by the double account of the foundation of the Crypt Monastery at Kiev and the death of Theodosius provided by the *Povest* under the years 1051 and 1074.

According to the *Povest*, Hilarion and Antonius were the founders of Russian asceticism. Antonius, after accepting and tonsuring twelve new brethren, retired as prior in favor of Barlaam, who arranged for the construction of the first small Church of the Assumption of the Virgin on the surface above the crypt. As the order grew in numbers, requiring additional quarters, Antonius from his retirement, and upon the request of the brotherhood, begged Prince Izyaslav to present the order with the hill above the crypt. Upon the receipt of this property, and while Barlaam was still prior, a new and larger church and a surface structure for the monastery itself were completed. Izyaslav then established a new monastery of his own, which he dedicated to St Demetrius, and to which he transferred Barlaam as prior. At Barlaam's departure, and again upon the request of the brotherhood, Antonius designated Theodosius as the former's successor.

The record preserved by the Nestorian *Life of Theodosius* is radically different. Therein it is asserted that Antonius himself tonsured none of the brethren, who were thus initiated by his colleague Nikon. Antonius retired to solitude when the brethren numbered fifteen, and not twelve, as stated in the *Chronicle*. In the *Povest*, Antonius designated Barlaam as his successor before entering into retirement, but according to Nestor, he first shut himself up in his cell, named Barlaam as his successor, and only somewhat later removed to another hill, where he dug a new crypt. Likewise, in Nestor's account, Barlaam constructed only the one small surface church before his transfer to St Demetrius', while the brethren themselves, after unanimously choosing Theodosius as Barlaam's successor, notified Antonius of their action. The new prior, finding the previous quarters too small, selected a location not far from the old crypt, where he built a large church dedicated to the Immaculate Virgin, together with numerous cells. Though the *Povest* recounts that the rules of the Studion Monastery were obtained by Theodosius from the monk Michael, who had come to Kiev from Greece with the Metropolitan George, the Nestorian *Life* represents Theodosius as sending a special messenger to Ephraim the Castrate at Constantinople to obtain them. Finally, the *Povest* mentions briefly in 1073 Theodosius' foundation of a stone church, which was brought to completion by the Prior Stephen in 1075. The *Life* in this instance enters into extensive detail as to the selection of the site for this church by Prince Svyatoslav.[1]

Additional indication of a diversity of authorship between the *Chronicle* account of the early history of the Crypt Monastery and the Nestorian *Life of Theodosius* may be gleaned from the statements of the writers themselves. The *Chronicle* narrative of 1051 ends thus:

> While Theodosius was living in the Monastery, governing his righteous flock, observing the monastic rule, and receiving whosoever came to him, I too, poor and unworthy servant that I am, came before him, and he received me on the seventeenth year of my age. I have accordingly set down and established in what year the monastery began its existence.

Nestor, on the contrary, writes (Yakovlev, *op. cit.*, p. lxiii):

> I, the sinful Nestor, least of all those in the monastery of our father Theodosius, wrote down these facts concerning our great and blessed father, which I learned by inquiry from fathers older than myself, who lived in his day. And I was received into the monastery by the venerable Prior Stephen, by whom I was also tonsured, invested with the monastic garb, and later advanced to the rank of deacon, though I was unworthy of it, being coarse and ignorant, and filled from my youth by a multitude of sins.

Thus Nestor, by his own statement, did not know Theodosius personally, and was admitted into the Crypt Monastery only after the great prior's death in 1074. Equally striking divergences in fact appear from any comparison of the *Povest* account of Theodosius' death and the recital of the same events prepared by Nestor.

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[1] For text of Nestor's *Life of Theodosius*, cf. Yakovlev, *op. cit.*, pp. ix–lxxii.

In the words of the *Povest*, Theodosius, on the eve of the Lenten fast (Quinquagesima Sunday, March 2, 1074), according to his habit, admonished the brethren in a brief address concerning their observance of Lent, and then retired to his cell, where he remained in solitude and abstinence until the Friday before Palm Sunday (April 11). He then came forth to celebrate Holy Week and Easter, but on the Saturday following (April 26), he fell ill. On the evening of Wednesday (April 30), after five days' sickness, he requested the brethren to carry him out into the courtyard, and upon informing them that during Lent the imminence of his death had been revealed to him, bade them nominate his successor. The monks, however, left the choice to Theodosius, who in turn begged them to name anyone from their ranks except the brothers Nicholas and Ignatius. A second time, they requested Theodosius to make the nomination, which then fell upon the presbyter James. This choice failed to meet the approval of the community, who forthwith recommended the cantor Stephen. After Theodosius had blessed the new prior, he was borne back to his cell. In the course of the following day, Theodosius was visited by Prince Svyatoslav and his son Gleb. On the seventh day (Friday, May 2), he gave his final admonition to Stephen and the brethren, and then died on Saturday, May 3. He was buried the same night.

In the Nestorian *Life of Theodosius*, the narrative of his demise is abruptly introduced by the observation that he foresaw his approaching death. Theodosius thereupon summoned the brotherhood and admonished them as to their Christian duties. He then retired to his cell, beat his breast, and prayed both for his own salvation and for the monastery. The monks did not understand the purport of his admonition, but thought that, like Antonius, he was perhaps about to leave them to carry out his oft-expressed plan to live in retirement, from which he had previously been dissuaded by the Prince and his associates. Theodosius, however, was attacked by a violent fever, and for three days lay speechless in a comatose state, so that some even thought he was already dead. On the fourth day, he arose, summoned the brotherhood, and made known that the time of his death had been revealed to him during Lent. He therefore requested the monks to name his successor, whereupon, after consulting together privately, they immediately elected Stephen. The following day, Theodosius once more assembled them, and approved their choice. After admonishing the order, the prior then foretold that his death would occur after sunrise on the following Saturday. On the morning of that day, he gathered the brethren about him to take their final leave, and then withdrew to his cell. One of the monks saw through a crevice how he uttered his last prayer, and then, after laying himself upon his pallet, calmly passed away. Prince Svyatoslav, who happened to be in the vicinity of the monastery, saw a miraculous pillar of fire above it, and understood from the sign that Theodosius was dead. The brethren were momentarily prevented by the presence of crowds about the monastery from giving Theodosius the quiet burial he had desired, until a miraculous shower came up and scattered the assemblage.

Apart from the diversity of fact between the *Povest* narrative and the Nestorian *Life of Theodosius* as indicated by the foregoing summaries, there are discernible certain variations in emphasis which point to divergent views of the respective authors regarding important details in the history of the Crypt Monastery. In the *Povest*, Antonius is the great initiator; for Nestor, Theodosius is naturally the dominant figure immediately preceding Nestor's own admission to the monastery. Furthermore, Nestor is better informed than the *Chronicle* as to the relations between Theodosius and the Princes Izyaslav and Svyatoslav, as well as regarding the internal political aspects of the succession to the priorate in the years following Theodosius' death. Since these matters are of some importance, it is not easy to explain why Nestor, if the author or the compiler of the *Povest*, did not make use of them in that work. An attentive study of the original texts of the two productions also amply justifies Bugoslavski's observation (*loc. cit.*, p. 163) that the style of the *Chronicle* narrative is markedly different from the Nestorian *Life* in conciseness, wealth of factual detail, and simplicity of literary technique. It is devoid of the quotations and comparisons with Biblical episodes, and free from the repetitions with which Nestor's style abounds.

A juxtaposition of Nestor's attested works with the portions of the *Povest* dealing with similar subjects thus offers little ground for any assumption that Nestor had any connection with its composition.

It remains to be seen whether the other instances in the *Povest* where the first person is used by author or compiler (apart from the passage of 1051 quoted above) point in any way to Nestorian authorship. The first (1091), dealing with the discovery of the remains of Theodosius, reports that the narrator was instructed by the prior to dig for the relics and was himself eyewitness and participant in all the events here recounted in considerable detail. In view of its general stylistic resemblance to the preceding accounts of the monastery and of Theodosius and a consequent departure from Nestor's ornate verbiage, this passage shows far more kinship with the author of the foregoing items concerning the monastery than with any product of Nestor's pen. Next in order of importance is the account of 1097 which relates the blinding of Vasilko, in which the narrator refers to himself by name as Vasili (Basil). The fact that the same events described in this section are covered again briefly under 1098–1100 leads naturally to the supposition that the Vasili account represents an interpolated episode. The remaining three are of more restricted interest. The first (1065) has to do with a monster-child fished out of the Sĕtoml River, which the narrator and his companions "gazed upon till evening." The next (1096) relates to the raid upon Kiev by the Polovcian chief Bonyak, whose nomads surrounded the monastery "while we [the inmates] were resting in our cells after matins." The writer was thus evidently present in the monastery when the raid took place, and his account is followed by a report concerning a personal conversation with Gyurata Rogovich of Novgorod on the subject of certain barbarians of the north. The final item (1106) reports the death of the venerable Yan, "from whom," says the chronicler, "I too learned many things which I have included in these annals as I heard them from his lips."

These seven passages in the first person cast but little light upon the authorship of the *Chronicle*. Along with the account of the foundation of the Crypt Monastery, however, they all fall between the years 1051 and 1106, thus within the lifetime of one man. Even if we assume that the author of the narrative dealing with the beginnings of the monastery joined that community about 1057, as soon as Theodosius became prior, and, according to his own statement, was seventeen years old at the time, he would thus have been only seventy years old at the date upon which the *Povest* concludes (1110). If we disregard for a moment the Sylvestrian colophon, it is not intrinsically impossible that the entire *Povest* was written or compiled by one monk of the Crypt Monastery in the course of the second half of the eleventh century. In any case, the internal evidence of the *Povest*, along with the lack of coincidence of its content with Nestor's works wherever the two are related, is distinctly opposed to the tradition of Nestorian authorship.

Composition

The early belief that Nestor was the author or the compiler of the whole *Povest* as it stands has thus been generally abandoned by modern investigators, to be replaced by some scholars with the contention that he was the author of one of the sources from which the *Povest*, in its present form, is alleged to be derived. During the nineteenth century, as knowledge of the various chronicle texts and redactions and the study of their interrelation progressed, it was noted that the *Povest* contains not only certain contradictions with the attested works of Nestor, but also certain internal incoherences.[1] For example, Pereyaslavl appears among the list of Russian cities already prosperous in the time of Oleg (907), while an account of its foundation by Vladimir is set forth under 993. Under the year 1060, there appears an account of a successful raid by certain Russian princes upon the nomad Torks, who did not wait for the Russian attack, but "are fleeing to this day." In 1080, however, it is related that these Torks in turn risked an attack in Russian territory which was avenged by Vladimir Monomakh under instructions from his father Vsevolod. In the brief mention of the passage of the Huns before Kiev under 898, the comment is made that they were nomads like the Polovcians. It should be noted that the first mention of the Polovcians as a menace occurs in 1055, though under 1061 the *Chronicle* says plainly that the Polovcians in that year made their first raid. In the narrative for 1044, reference is made to the fact that Prince Vseslav was born with a caul, which, at the recommendation of soothsayers present at his birth, he wore suspended from his neck "to this day," as the *Chronicle* puts it. Vseslav, as it happens, died in 1101. It is also apparent that, while the *Povest* itself ends in 1110, the initial chronology is carried through to the death of Svyatopolk in 1113. And finally, students of the *Povest* speedily observed that all accounts of eyewitnesses and significant occurrences of the first person (except the expressions "отселе почнем и числа положим" and "но мы на преженье возъвратимся . . . и по ряду положимъ числа" under 852) appear after 1050.

These observations, combined with analysis of the sections dealing with Theodosius and the Crypt Monastery as well as with the otherwise unknown Vasili's narrative of the blinding of Vasilko, led to the belief that a portion of the *Povest* was written early in the second half of the eleventh century, while the remainder was composed toward the close of the same century or early in the twelfth.[2] Thus Kostomarov concluded that while Nestor had some share in the *Primary Chronicle*, it cannot in its entirety be ascribed to him. In view of the Sylvestrian signature, Kostomarov believed that Sylvester compiled a collection of separate narratives and traditions, to which he added the chronology, and in which he embodied a chronicle prepared in the Crypt Monastery at Kiev, of a portion of which Nestor was the author.[1] Sreznevski (*op. cit.*, p. 114) in the main accepted the view that Sylvester is the compiler, remarking that the prior of an outstanding monastery and an ecclesiastic of sufficient importance to be elevated in 1118 to the episcopate of Pereyaslavl would hardly be likely to indulge in the mere copying of an alien work. From the notion that the *Povest* as we have it is a compilation from earlier productions, it was but a step to efforts toward resolving the *Povest* into its components and determining their character. It is thus in this channel that study of the *Povest* has moved during the last fifty years.

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[1] A survey of the earlier literature (to 1850) may be found in M. I. Sukhomlinov's article, "Пособия при изучении Несторовой Летописи," reprinted in *Сборник Отд. Русск. Яз. и Слов.*, LXXXIII (Leningrad, 1908), 238–245, with which should be compared the bibliographical material in K. Bestuzhev-Ryumin *Русская История*, I (Leningrad, 1872), 18–19 n.

[2] I. I. Sreznevski, *Статьи о древних русских летописях* (1853–1866, reprint, Leningrad, 1903), p. 111.

The culmination of this analytic process is found in the studies of two Russian scholars, the late Professor A. A. Shakhmatov (1865–1920), and Professor V. M. Istrin. The former, one of the most brilliant philologists that Russia has produced, besides editing several important texts, devoted some forty articles to various phases of chronicle study, and embodied many of the results of his investigations in two works: *Разыскания о Древнейших Русских Летописных Сводах* (*Investigations of the Oldest Russian Annalistic Compilations*, Leningrad, 1908), and the Introduction to his text of the *Povest* (*Повесть Временных Лет. I, Вводная часть, Текст, Примечания*, Leningrad, 1916). In the latter work, Shakhmatov indicated that the second volume, concerned with a study of the sources of the *Povest* and a definition of the editorial functions of its compilers, was practically complete in manuscript. It is therefore to be hoped that the Academy of Sciences of the U. S. S. R. will supplement its extremely useful work upon the chronicles by a publication of this manuscript.

A clear distinction must, however, be drawn between the methods of Shakhmatov and those of his precursors. The first period in the study of the chronicles, exemplified by Tatishchev and Schlözer, was characterized by efforts to restore a "pure" text of what was contemporaneously viewed as a homogeneous work. The features of existing texts which, to the modern student, usually indicate the compilatory character of the chronicles, were first viewed as textual corruptions. As the study of the origin and the nature of the chronicle texts progressed, this early notion gave way to the conception of the *Povest* as the mechanical combination of diversified material on a chronological framework. This idea is well exemplified by the views of Kostomarov, Sreznevski, and Bestuzhev-Ryumin.[1] Shakhmatov, however, proceeded to the comparative examination of all existing chronicle texts, in order to determine their interrelation and origin, and to reconstruct, if possible, the prototypes from which the various texts are derived, at the same time defining the process of evolution by which the extant texts have reached their present form. As Shakhmatov himself expressed it, a study of the most recent compilations leads up to a definition and a restoration of the more ancient redactions, and the analysis of the latter points to still earlier compilations as their sources.

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[1] N. Kostomarov, *Историческия Монографии*, XIII (Leningrad, 1881), 4–8.

As Shakhmatov's studies form at present the starting point for any critical examination of the Russian chronicles in general, some detailed synopsis of his conclusions appears a necessity. The *Povest* itself is a compilation appearing at the beginning of the majority of all annalistic compilations dating from the fourteenth through the seventeenth century. The oldest compilations exhibit a fairly complete and homogeneous text, which is abbreviated or otherwise modified in later versions, while the older annals of Novgorod supplement data originating in Kiev with material related to the ancient history of the northern area. Sylvester's signature constitutes absolute proof that the *Povest* was compiled in the second decade of the twelfth century to cover the course of events as far as 1111. On the other hand, the fact that the *Povest* as preserved deals very extensively with events relating exclusively to the Crypt Monastery is for Shakhmatov abundant proof that the Sylvestrian redaction is not the most primitive.

The Laurentian redaction, it will be recalled, contains under 1110 an account of a pillar of fire which appeared over the Crypt Monastery, followed by a short paragraph of pious comment upon its significance. The Hypatian redaction, however, includes not only this passage, but also the remainder of the pious commentary omitted by the Laurentian. Shakhmatov maintains that the mention of the portent, together with the comment thereon, was not found in the original Sylvestrian redaction of the *Povest*, but was added to it from the prototype of the text represented by the extant Hypatian redaction. The commentary on the portent in texts of the Hypatian group serves as introduction to the account of a successful raid upon the Polovcians executed by the Russian princes in March, 1111. It is thus clear, in Shakhmatov's view, that the *Povest* was continued beyond its original compass during the second decade of the twelfth century. It so happens that the Hypatian redaction, from 1076 on, includes certain material relating to Vladimir Monomakh which does not figure in the Laurentian. Shakhmatov thus deduces from this evidence that, along with the Sylvestrian text, there also existed an additional primitive version of the *Povest*, differing from the former in certain features prior to 1111, and in the fact that it contained a continuation discussing contemporary events somewhat beyond that date. From other internal evidence, combined with the manifest change in tone in the Hypatian narrative from 1118 forward, Shakhmatov concludes that this new redaction, from which the Hypatian and kindred texts derive, was composed in that year. His opinion, therefore, is that the original *Povest* was compiled in 1111, the year after its close; that Sylvester, according to his colophon, prepared a somewhat modified redaction of it in 1116; and that in 1118 there was prepared in the Crypt Monastery still a third redaction, the prototype of the Hypatian group of texts.

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[1] K. Bestuzhev-Ryumin, "О Составе Русских Летописей до Конца XIV Века," in *Летопись Занятий Археографической Коммиссии*, vol. XIV (Leningrad, 1868).

It would appear something of a *tour de force* to explain this appearance of three versions of the same monument within seven years. Shakhmatov assumes that the basic (1111) redaction of the *Povest* was unduly friendly in tone to Svyatopolk, a prince whose rough, impulsive, and violent character presented a marked contrast to the temperament of Vladimir Monomakh, his pious, judicious, and intelligent successor. The Vydobichi Monastery, over the destinies of which Sylvester presided, had been founded by Vladimir's father Vsevolod. Shakhmatov thus suggests that, in order to place the events of the last principate in their proper light, Vladimir Monomakh in 1116 instructed Sylvester to prepare a new redaction of the *Povest*, upon completion of which the basic text of 1111 disappeared from circulation. The transfer of official annalistic activity from the Crypt to another and a younger monastery, Shakhmatov thinks, must have been a severe blow to the pride of the older institution, in which a party may well have arisen favoring a policy of friendly understanding with Vladimir. One member of this party thus determined to prepare a new chronicle to replace the redaction eliminated by Sylvester's text, and this third redaction is the hypothetical text of 1118 previously mentioned.

It is significant that while modern scholars generally tend to minimize Nestor's connection with the *Povest*, Shakhmatov restores his standing by the assumption that he was the compiler of the basic text of 1111, which was suppressed in favor of Sylvester's redaction of 1116. Shakhmatov believes that the title of the *Povest* originally contained the ascription to "Nestor, a monk of the Theodosian Crypt Monastery" which was omitted in the Sylvestrian redaction. While the second reviser (1118 text) succeeded in restoring the ascription to "a monk of the Theodosian Crypt Monastery," the name of Nestor was banned, and the tradition of his quality as an annalist was retained only in the *Paterikon* (*supra*, p. 81), and in the *Khlebnikovski* chronicle text, which might, in Shakhmatov's view, go back to a prototype in the preparation of which the old basic *Povest* of 1111 was employed. The obvious contradictions between the *Povest* and Nestor's *Life of Theodosius* Shakhmatov minimizes by the contention that Nestor wrote the *Life* in the 'eighties of the eleventh century, and the *Povest* in 1111, and further, that he used an earlier hypothetical text, the oldest chronicle of the Crypt Monastery, which he hesitated to modify, just as Sylvester refrained from removing any discrepancies from the text of the *Povest* as he edited it.

Certain chronicle texts originating in Novgorod (the so-called *First Novgorod Chronicle*, younger series, and related texts) are based in the main, according to Shakhmatov, upon a compilation prepared at Novgorod about 1432. The latter compilation is derived, in Shakhmatov's opinion, from a Novgorod ecclesiastical chronicle beginning only in the twelfth century, and therefore supplemented by a text of southern origin which he considers to have antedated the *Povest*. Shakhmatov's reasons for believing that this southern chronicle is more primitive than the *Povest* lie in the absence of quotations from extraneous sources, e. g., Georgius Hamartolus, Nicephorus, the Russo-Greek treaties, the legends of SS Cyril and Methodius and of St Andrew, and various items of traditional material. One of the characteristics of this northern family of texts is an extensive introduction which does not appear in either the Laurentian or the Hypatian redactions.[1] The Preface indicates the compiler's intention to cover the period from Michael III to Alexius Comnenus (therefore 852–1081). It also contains sharp criticism of the reigning prince and his retainers, who are charged with injustice and avarice. Shakhmatov has no hesitation in attributing these remarks to John, Prior of the Crypt Monastery, writing in the 'nineties of the eleventh century, at the moment when relations between Prince Svyatopolk and the monastery are known to have been strained. He thus concludes that this primary or primitive annalistic compilation originating in the Crypt Monastery was composed about 1095, and extended only as far as the pious reflections concerning two defeats inflicted upon the Russian princes by the Polovcians at Trepol and on the Zhelan in May and July, 1093. At this point, Shakhmatov considers that the original contribution of Nestor to the preparation of the *Povest* begins. The primitive monastery compilation of 1095 was, according to Shakhmatov, Nestor's basic source, which he revamped and supplemented with much diversified extraneous material. It is also possible, Shakhmatov thinks, that Nestor contributed some individual touches to the body of the *Chronicle* prior to 1093, especially in the account of the discovery of the relics of Theodosius in 1091. He is, in fact, inclined to the opinion that Nestor was the author of the whole passage, and was entrusted with the search for the relics on account of his authorship of the *Life of Theodosius.*

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[1] This introduction is reprinted in Shakhmatov, *Повесть Временных Лет*, pp. 361–364. Cf. Shakhmatov, "Предисловие к Софийскиму Временнику и Несторова Летопись," in *Из. Отд. Русск. Яз. и Слов.*, XIII (Leningrad, 1908), 1.

The functions of Sylvester in the preparation of his text under orders from Vladimir Monomakh, Shakhmatov believes to have been relatively restricted, and mainly confined to editorial corrections. He thus eliminated from the text whatever was unfriendly to Vladimir, and inserted many items of a partisan nature. Shakhmatov thus attributes to Sylvester the continuation of the opening chronological table to the death of Svyatopolk (1113). It will be remembered that Svyatopolk's participation in the conspiracy against Vasilko constitutes the gravest blot upon his character. Shakhmatov supposes that Nestor, being well disposed toward Svyatopolk, made an effort to minimize the latter's culpability by transferring most of the blame to David Igorevich. Sylvester, on the other hand, according to Shakhmatov's suggestion, had recourse to the narrative of Vasili, apparently the intimate and the confessor of Prince Vasilko himself, in order to reestablish the facts.

To the editor of the 1118 text, whom Shakhmatov supposes to have been a monk of the Crypt Monastery intimate with Vladimir Monomakh's son Mstislav, Prince of Novgorod, he attributes the insertion of the *Testament* of Vladimir. It should be noted here that, while hypothetical 1118 redaction is classed by Shakhmatov as the prototype of the Hypatian and related texts, it is not in the texts of this redaction that the *Testament* is preserved, but in the Laurentian redaction, which obviously derives from the Sylvestrian tradition. Shakhmatov is thus obliged to take the position that the *Testament* was interpolated into the Laurentian from a text descended from the 1118 redaction.

Shakhmatov, in his Introduction to the *Povest*,[1] which is summarized in the foregoing paragraphs, thus carries the textual history of the *Povest* back to a hypothetical compilation dating from 1095. This work does not, however, embody Shakhmatov's conclusions as to the evolution of chronicle literature prior to this date, which he had already developed at length in his *Investigations*.[2] The latter work sets forth his views on the beginnings of annalistic activity in Kiev and elsewhere. Shakhmatov believes that the establishment of the Kiev metropolitanate in 1039 inspired the composition, about the same date, of a chronicle text which he designates as the "most ancient Kiev compilation" ("древнейший Киевский свод"). For the period prior to the principate of Vladimir I, the compiler, in Shakhmatov's opinion, used for his sources local traditions preserved in folk-songs and *byliny*, together with a few written narratives which dealt with Russian saints and events of ecclesiastical interest. From the reign of Yaroslav, the narrative is believed by Shakhmatov to rest on personal recollections of recent events, and from this point, Shakhmatov views the 1039 text as a thoroughly reliable source. The production of this work did not, he thinks, lead to any systematic annalistic activity at Kiev, but in 1073, according to Shakhmatov's conclusions, a continuation of the 1039 text was prepared in the Crypt Monastery. This second text Shakhmatov designates as the "first compilation of the Crypt Monastery" ("первый Киевопечерский свод"). He considers its earlier portion to have been mainly a copy of the 1039 text, to which was perhaps added the account of Vladimir Yaroslavich's expedition against Greece (1043). The later section, beginning with the account of the death of Yaroslav (1054), represents, according to Shakhmatov, an independent production of the compiler based on personal recollection and contemporary data. In view of the respectable amount of material dealing with the distant colony of Tmutorakan and with Rostislav, its prince, Shakhmatov attributes the preparation of the 1073 text to Nikon, a member of the Crypt community, who is known from another source[1] to have spent some time in that area, where he founded a monastery, returning to Kiev about 1067. Shakhmatov thus attributes to Nikon the authorship of the article on the foundation of the Crypt Monastery appearing in the present Laurentian text under 1051. He considers, however, that in the text of 1073 this article appeared under 1062, the year in which the monastery was actually founded, though in later redactions the item was shifted back to 1051 to connect it with the death of the metropolitan Hilarion, and in deference to the tradition elsewhere set forth that the monastery was founded, not under Izyaslav, but somewhat earlier, in the principate of Yaroslav the Wise. The redaction of 1073 was later supplemented by the familiar account of the death of Theodosius and by annalistic accretions which carry its content to 1093. Then, about 1095, was prepared Shakhmatov's so-called "primary compilation" ("начальный свод"), the immediate basis for the various redactions of the *Povest* as he classes them. Shakhmatov considers this compilation of 1095 to have been the first chronicle text of general Russian content, since he endeavors to show that it embodied not only previous compilations originating in Kiev, but also elements from the annals which he believes were kept at Novgorod during the eleventh century, and was likewise influenced by early Russian native and translated literature of the period.

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[1] *Повесть Временных Лет*, I (Leningrad, 1916), i–lxxx.

[2] *Разыскания о Древнейших Летописных Сводах* (Leningrad, 1908).

A thorough critical treatment of Shakhmatov's views would seriously exceed the practicable compass of the present introduction. They rest upon a remarkable knowledge of all published texts and of numerous MSS which a foreign student can scarcely hope to equal. On the other hand, it is apparent that they are at best a tissue of highly tempting hypotheses based upon a subjective and sometimes temperamental interpretation, not only of extant redactions, but also of the events they record. Shakhmatov's method, reduced to its lowest terms, consists in working back through a series of hypothetical intermediates to an equally hypothetical archetype. In the presence of a consistent tradition as to the form of the *Povest* attested by two MSS of fair age, which give a fully adequate basis for the assumption that we are dealing here with a single homogeneous work, somewhat contracted or expanded according to local preferences wherever it was recopied as an introduction to local annals, Shakhmatov's efforts to establish the existence of a complicated family of earlier texts fails to carry entire conviction. As Professor Brückner has recently remarked,[1] practically no Old-Russian text of any importance is lost; it is thus extraordinary that all annalistic texts prior to 1116, if they really existed, should have disappeared save for the remnants restored by the ingenious and arbitrary mutilation of those that are preserved.

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[1] Viz., Nestor's *Life of Theodosius* (Yakovlev, *op. cit.*, p. xviii).

Professor V. M. Istrin's method of dealing with the *Povest* problem is intimately related to that of Professor Shakhmatov, though his conclusions differ radically from those of his predecessor.[2] Istrin has devoted a large amount of investigation to the Slavic translations of Byzantine historical works (particularly Malalas and Georgius Hamartolus), and his views are naturally tinged by this specialization. He rejects entirely Shakhmatov's hypothetical primitive text of 1039. While Shakhmatov had presupposed a Bulgarian model for this text,[3] Istrin enlarges upon the reaction of foreign influence on the origins of the Russian annals. According to Istrin, a considerable body of Greek clergy must have accompanied the Greek metropolitan to Kiev about 1037. They brought with them, he believes, numerous Greek works, and, as noted in the *Povest* itself, the second half of Yaroslav's principate (1037–1054) was characterized by increased literary activity, concentrated principally upon translation. Among the works thus translated, in Istrin's view, was the *Chronicle* of Georgius Hamartolus with its continuation to 948. In consequence of its length and the difficulties of certain theological and dogmatic sections of the text, Istrin considers that this work speedily gave place (about 1050) to an abbreviated general history based largely on Hamartolus, and known as the *Chronograph* "according to the long text" ("по великому изложению"). This *Chronograph*, Istrin believes, was speedily supplemented by accounts of purely Russian events. The chronological framework for the latter was thus supplied by the Byzantine originals, which reckoned the dates by years from Creation, as is the case in the *Povest*. Istrin holds that the purely Russian material in the *Chronograph* was based partly on tradition and partly on written sources. This Russian material covered the calling of the Varangian princes, the accounts of Oleg's and Igor's raids on Constantinople (the latter being supplemented from Hamartolus and other Greek sources), and the narrative of Vladimir's conversion, which concluded the *Chronograph*. About 1060, after the death of Yaroslav, Istrin maintains that the Russian portions of the narrative were divorced from the items of purely Byzantine reference, and thus arose the first redaction of the *Povest*, which Istrin considers to have embodied a supplementary account of the principates of Vladimir I and Yaroslav the Wise, along with an introduction designating 852 as the starting point of Russian history, while the chronological table showed the death of Yaroslav as the concluding point of the narrative. The omission of Byzantine items not vitally connected with Russian history resulted, in Istrin's opinion, in the appearance of the so-called "empty years," which occur with tolerable frequency in the first half of the *Povest* as it stands. Such, in Istrin's view, was the primitive text of the *Povest*, closely resembling the extant Laurentian and Hypatian redactions as far as it went, and omitting only the extensive introduction now preceding the items for 852 in both these redactions and the lengthy account, now appearing as of 1051, which covers the foundation of the Crypt Monastery.

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[1] *Archiv f. Slav. Philol.*, XLI (Berlin, 1927), 49.

[2] Cf. Istrin, "Замечания о Начале Русской Летописи," in *Изв. Отд. Русск. Яз. и Слов.*, XXVI (Leningrad, 1921), 45–102; XXVII (Leningrad, 1922), 207–251; *Очерк Истории Древнерусской Литературы* (Leningrad, 1922), pp. 135–152; *Хроника Георгия Амартола в Древнем Славянском Переводе*, 2 vols. (Leningrad, 1920–1922), especially II, 348–363.

[3] *Разыскания*, pp. 455, 456. As a matter of fact, Shakhmatov's postulation of a Bulgarian source for portions of his supposed text of 1039 is an excellent example of the defects of his method. He constantly exhibits a tendency to imagine that any item in the *Povest* not directly connected with Kiev must have been derived from a foreign source. In this particular instance he traces the items of 969–972 on Svyatoslav's Danubian campaigns to a Bulgarian source. There is, however, no evidence that such a thing as a native Bulgarian chronicle ever existed prior to the fourteenth century.

During the remainder of the eleventh century, the *Povest* was further extended, Istrin believes, by the entry of current events not necessarily added at regular intervals. Then, at the beginning of the second decade of the twelfth century, the prototype of the *Povest*, with its various continuations, was again carried forward to the death of Svyatopolk. Istrin considers that the author of this new and complete text was Nestor, who added the introduction, in the preparation of which he used the full text of Hamartolus. He also had at his disposal certain other literary works, such as the *Revelations* of Pseudo-Methodius and Vasili's account of the blinding of Vasilko. Sylvester's function, in Istrin's opinion, was limited to the preparation, in 1116, of a word-for-word copy of the Nestorian text. Istrin considers that Nestor's original, retained in the Crypt Monastery, subsequently underwent the usual continuations and thus became the Kiev Chronicle now represented by the Hypatian redaction. Istrin assumes that Sylvester's copy eventually lost its last pages, while his signature was written either on a special page or on the binding. This loss of a few pages accounts, in Istrin's view, for the conclusion of the Laurentian redaction in 1110 and for the retention of the fuller text for that year in the Hypatian redaction. According to Istrin, Nestor did not introduce his name into the text of the *Povest* because he was not its author, but simply its continuator, and for the same reason Sylvester made no mention of Nestor in his own copy. The *Povest* thus remained anonymous, though the tradition of Nestor's annalistic activity was preserved, and took definite form in the *Paterikon*, being likewise reflected in the appearance of Nestor's name in the *Khlebnikovski* text.

In the absence of more substantial countervailing testimony than the hypotheses of Shakhmatov and Istrin, the *Povest* should for the present be viewed as a homogeneous work, the product of one author, preserved with minor variants in one generally prevalent redaction, and dating from about 1113. The fact that all eyewitness material follows the year 1050 renders it both possible and probable that one author only was occupied in its preparation, which extended over a period of one or more decades. The analogy of the chronological arrangement with and the important excerpts from Greek annalistic literature known to the compiler in translation indicates the likelihood that the imitation of Greek models was one of the principal factors in its production.[1] The constant emphasis laid, in the portion of the *Povest* from 1051 forward, upon the development of the Crypt Monastery, together with the personal references in the accounts of Theodosius, creates a strong presumption that the author of the text as we have it was a respected member of that community. While the thirteenth-century tradition of Nestorian authorship cannot be wholly disregarded, the divergencies between Nestor's own works and the content of the *Chronicle* preclude its acceptance, and suggest the possibility that the similarity in subject-matter between Nestor's writings and certain sections of the *Povest* inspired his association with the latter. It is entirely probable that some brief native records of historical events (particularly of ecclesiastical interest) may have been kept in Kiev as early as the last decade of the tenth century after the conversion of Vladimir. The Greek literary influence associated by Istrin in a considerably exaggerated degree with the establishment of the metropolitanate in 1037 may, in connection with the *Povest*, be admitted to the extent that familiarity with Greek annalistic works may well have inspired a monk of some learning to collect such early records and traditions as he could find, which, combined with supplementary material from Greek sources and — for the last century covered by the *Povest* — with personal observations and the recollections of contemporaries, compose the *Povest* in its present form. In fact, if the sources and chronology of the *Povest* are subjected to close analysis, such a definition of its origin is inevitable. The presence in the text of the narrative of the blinding of Vasilko and of the *Testament* of Vladimir Monomakh in no wise weakens this conception of its character. We have no means of determining the history of the text from the moment of its compilation to the date of the Laurentian MS. (1377). The presence of extensive variants in the *Povest* wherever it appears as a component of later annalistic compilations would imply that the chances for modification by successive scribes were extremely broad.

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[1] It should be noted, however, that Istrin's theory of the development of a chronograph "по великому изложению" ("according to the long text") from a Russian translation of Georgius Hamartolus is not acceptable, mainly because there is no proof whatever that this translation was actually made in Russia at the period alleged. Istrin's idea that the prototype of the *Povest* was based on the Russian data originally contained in such a chronograph cannot be viewed as anything but an ingenious invention without even a shadow of fact behind it. Cf. M. Weingart, *Byzantské Kroniky v Literature Cirkevneslovanské*, vol. II, ii (Bratislava 1923), pp. 520, 521.

The Laurentian redaction as it stands appears (apart from the *Testament* of Vladimir Monomakh and some curtailment at its close) to reproduce the compilation of an otherwise unknown inmate of the Crypt Monastery who was, for his time, well educated and personally familiar with the course of political events from the later years of Yaroslav the Wise through the first decade of the twelfth century. The function of Sylvester in the evolution of the text is not altogether clear. It is manifestly impossible, however, to identify him with the original compiler of the *Povest*. All that may be said with any degree of certainty is that the Laurentian redaction appears to derive from a prototype prepared by Sylvester, perhaps for his personal use or for the information of his own monastic community, from the primitive compilation originating in the Crypt Monastery. However interesting more detailed hypotheses on the authorship of the *Povest* may be, none of those so far presented can be justified either from the *Povest* itself or from any other contemporary evidence. In the complete absence of direct testimony on this subject, conjectures of this nature constitute but a relatively insignificant contribution to the study of this venerable monument.

Sources

Reference has already been made to the presence in the *Povest* of numerous excerpts or reminiscences of Georgius Hamartolus, which appear in special profusion.[1] This Byzantine chronicle, dating from the ninth century, was carried by its author to 843, but from that point the text is derived from another author, Symeon the Logothete. This continuation extends to 948 so as to end with the death of Romanus Lecapenus on the island of Proti on July 15 of that year.

There is some difference of opinion as to the circumstances under which this work was first translated into Old Slavic. Istrin holds that the original translation was made toward the middle of the eleventh century by a Russian schoolman, though it is more probably a Bulgarian product.[2] The exact birthplace of the Slavic version or versions is of minor importance for the present study, since the fact is clear that such a translation existed before the first decade of the twelfth century and was extensively drawn upon by the compiler of the *Povest* either directly and verbatim or in modified form through various secondary chronographs.

The sections of the *Povest* either based wholly upon, or suggesting reminiscences of, Georgius Hamartolus are given on page 100.

The *Chronicle* of Georgius Hamartolus is twice specifically referred to as a source in the *Povest*; first, in the discussion of the various alien races (p. 142): "глаголеть Георгии въ лѣтописаньи" ("Georgius says in his *Chronicle*"); and second, under 852 (p. 144): "яко пишется въ лѣтописаньи Гречьстѣмь" ("as is written in the Greek chronicle").

Among other borrowings from Greek sources is the lengthy Creed taught to Vladimir I (p. 200). This was first identified by Sukhom-

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[1] Editions: E. von Muralt, *Georgii Monachi Chronicon* (Leningrad, 1859); K. de Boor, *Georgii Monachi Chronicon* (Leipzig, 1904); V. M. Istrin, *Хроника Георгия Амартола в Древнем Славянорусском Переводе*, I (Leningrad, 1920), II (Leningrad, 1922). The best modern analysis is found in Weingart, *op. cit.*, II, i, 112–142; cf. the bibliography of earlier works, *ibid.*, pp. 112–118. Cf. also J. B. Bury: *History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912), 453–459.

[2] Cf. A. Brückner in *Archiv f. Slav. Philol.*, XLI (1927), 50, 51.

Date		Subject	Text Page	Greek Text (von Muralt), Page	Slavic Text (Istrin, I), Page
	(1)	Apportionment of the earth	136	39	58
	(2)	Tower of Babel	137	36–39	57–58
	(3)	Customs of aliens	142	26–28	49–50
858	(4)	Conversion of Bulgarians	144	732	508
866	(5)	Raid by Askold and Dir	145	736–737	511
868	(6)	Accession of Basil	146	752	519
887	(7)	Accessions of Leo and Alexander	147	766, 794	527, 540
902	(8)	Leo incites Huns against Bulgars	149	772	529
907	(9)	Oleg attacks Constantinople	149	841–842	567
911	(10)	Comet in west	151	797	541
912	(11)	Apollonius of Tyana	155	334–335	305–306
913	(12)	Accession of Constantine son of Leo	157	799	542
914	(13)	Symeon at Constantinople	157	802	544
915	(14)	Greeks win Pecheneg allies	157	804–805	545–546
920	(15)	Accession of Romanus	157	816	552
929	(16)	Symeon ravages Thrace	157	824	557
934	(17)	Huns attack Constantinople	157	840	566
941	(18)	Igor's Greek expedition	157	841–842	567
942	(19)	Symeon attacks Croats	158	830	560
943	(20)	Second Hun attack	158	844	568
1064	(21)	Portents	233	208, 281 540, 554 653	200, 262 421, 428 479

linov,[1] who reprints both the Greek text, dating from the ninth century, and an Old-Russian text deriving from a prototype written in 1073. The Creed is thus obviously one of the Greek works earliest translated into Slavic. Its author was Michael Syncellus, an associate of the metropolitan Thomas of Jerusalem, and friend of Theodore of Studion (died 826).[2]

Two additional items of Greek origin are presented by two reminiscences of the *Revelations* of Pseudo-Methodius of Patara on the Ishmaelites and the unclean peoples inclosed by Alexander the Great in the mountains of the north (pp. 275, 276). These reminiscences constitute, in fact, the earliest references in all Slavic literature to a text of which the influence in western Europe was well-nigh universal.[1]

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[1] M. I. Sukhomlinov, "О Древней Русской Летописи как Памятнике Литературном," in *Уч. Зап. гого Отд. Имп. Акад. Наук.* III (Leningrad, 1856), reprinted in *Сборник Отд. Русск. Яз. и Слов.*, LXXXV (Leningrad, 1908), 1 ff. For the Creed, see pp. 70–77 of reprint. The original Greek may be found both in Sukhomlinov's study and in Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Coisliniana olim Segueriana* (Paris, 1715), pp. 90–93; cf. also J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, X (Hamburg, 1721), 220. The Slavic text also in N. K. Nikolski, "Материалы для Истории Древнерусской Духовной Литературы," in *Сборник Отд. Русск. Яз. и Слов.*, LXXXII (Leningrad, 1907), pt. 4, pp. 21–24.

[2] Sukhomlinov, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 71.

Apart, however, from the echoes of Georgius Hamartolus, the largest body of obviously extraneous material appearing in the *Povest* is the account of alien religions, accompanied by a critique of these faiths and a synopsis of Biblical history supplied to Vladimir by the Greek missionary (pp. 185–197). Complete agreement does not as yet prevail as to the source of this material, which has been connected by most investigators with the so-called *Palea*. This term is, of course, a slightly modified form of *παλαιά*, after which *διαθήκη* should be supplied. By the *Palea*,[2] in Old-Russian literature, is understood a synopsis of Old Testament history supplemented by material from apocryphal books and various interpretative accretions. The *Palea* shows pronounced hostility to Jews and Mohammedans, and thus belongs to the literature of propaganda. As there was no complete translation of the Bible available in Russia till the fifteenth century, this work, based largely on the *Pentateuch*, *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, *Kings*, and *Chronicles*, possessed particular importance. The earliest extant text is that written at Kolomna in 1406.[3] As Sukhomlinov pointed out in 1856 (*op. cit.*, pp. 60 ff.), the major portion of the discussion of foreign religions found in the *Povest* occurs also in the *Palea*. The same source is indicated for the synopsis of Biblical history, in which departures from the Old Testament account may, for the most part, be explained from the *Palea*, though the compiler of the *Povest* appears also to have had before him certain books of the Bible in their full text.[4] Of the foreign material contained in the narrative of Vladimir's conversion, the critique of alien faiths and the synopsis of Biblical history are thus derived from the *Palea*, while the source of the Creed has been defined above. There remains for explanation the reference to the oecumenical councils (p. 203). Discussions of these councils occur elsewhere in Old-Russian literary monuments, and specifically in the *Sbornik* copied in 1073 for Prince Svyatoslav of Kiev (son of Yaroslav the Wise) from a Bulgarian original, where an enumeration of the councils follows immediately upon the Creed of Michael Syncellus and, with few exceptions, mentions the same participants in the councils as are detailed in the *Povest*. Seven councils are also described in scattered passages of Georgius Hamartolus.[1] A detailed account presenting close analogy with the *Povest* narrative likewise occurs in an epistle of the Patriarch Photius to Michael, Tsar of Bulgaria.[2] It is not possible to attach the *Povest* account of these councils directly to any one of these originals, but it is obvious that plenty of basis in translations from the Greek was available at the time of its composition.

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[1] Cf. N. S. Tikhonravov, *Памятники Отреченной Русской Литературы*, II (Moscow, 1863), 213–283; *Сочинения*, I (Moscow, 1898), 229, 230, and n. 34; V. M. Istrin, *Откровение Мефодия Патарского* (Moscow, 1897); E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle, 1898), pp. 5 ff.; P. O. Potapov, in *Русский Филологический Вестник*, LXV (Warsaw, 1911), 81–110; V. M. Istrin, in *Изв. Отд. Русск. Яз. и Слов.*, XXIX (Leningrad, 1924), 379–381; and most recently, S. H. Cross, in *Speculum*, IV (Cambridge, 1929), 329–339.

[2] The use of the term *Palea* to designate the Old Testament is well exemplified by the Old-Slavic translation of Georgius Hamartolus in the following passage: (von Muralt, p. 432, ll. 15 ff.) "*σαφῶs διὰ τούτων καὶ δι' ἄλλων πολλῶν . . . κηρύττει ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη*," rendered as follows: (Istrin, I, 345, ll. 20, 21) "явѣ бо сихъ ради инѣми многими . . . палѣя проповѣдаiетъ."

[3] Edition: *Палея Толковая по Списку сделанному в г. Коломне в 1406 г. Труд Учеников Н. С. Тихонравова* (Moscow, 1892).

[4] It should be noted that Istrin ("Замечания о Составе Толковой Палеи," in *Изв. Отд. Русск. Яз. и Слов.*, II [Leningrad, 1897], 175 ff., 845 ff.; III [1898],

The compiler of the *Povest* could hardly consider his work as complete without reference to Cyril (Constantine) and Methodius, the protoapostles to the Slavs. His account is based upon the so-called Pannonian *Life* of Methodius,[3] with modifications of later Bulgarian

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472 ff.) assigns the origin of the *Palea* to the thirteenth century, which would preclude its use as a source by the compiler of the *Povest* in the early twelfth. Shakhmatov, however, in his article, "Толковая Палея и Русская Летопись" (in *Статьи по Славяноведенію*, I [Leningrad, 1904], 199–272), concludes that the *Palea* is derived from a Bulgarian source dating from the period and originating in the circle of St Methodius (late ninth century). The Bulgarian original was, in his opinion, known in Russia by the close of the eleventh century, and influenced the *Povest* in the manner outlined by Sukhomlinov. Shakhmatov likewise holds that the investigations of Istrin do not appreciably weaken the source relation between the *Palea* and the *Povest* which Sukhomlinov endeavored to establish.

[1] Von Muralt, *ed. cit.*, pp. 404, 474, 499, 506, 528, 611, and 665.

[2] *Photii Epistolae* (ed. R. Montacutius, London, 1651), pp. 3 ff.

[3] Texts in F. Pastrnek, *Dějiny Slovanských Apostolů Cyrilla a Methoda s Rozborem a Otiskem Hlavních Pramenů* (Prague, 1902). The basic English treatment of the protoapostles is provided by the article by the late Professor V. Jagić, "Conversion of the Slavs," in *Camb. Med. Hist.*, IV (1923), chap. 8b, together with the bibliography, *ibid.*, pp. 822–825. Jagić's exhaustive and authoritative treatment of the subject is best studied in his *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Altkirchenslavischen Sprache* (2d ed., Berlin, 1913), pp. 1–130. Cf. also A. Brückner, *Die Wahrheit über die Slavenapostel* (Tübingen, 1913); H. von Schubert, *Die sogenannten Slavenapostel Constantin und Methodius* (Heidelberg Sitz.-Ber. Phil.-hist. Kl., 1916), 1; J. B. Bury, *History of Eastern Roman Empire* (London 1912), pp. 392–401.

origin. It is at variance with the accepted version of the events described in disregarding the implications of Rostislav's application to Michael III for missionaries and in associating with this request his nephew Svatopluk as well as Kotzel, the contemporary prince of Pannonia. Svatopluk, in fact, was allied at the time with the Roman element in Moravia, and therefore by no means a consistent friend of the Slavic liturgy. Constantine and Methodius first came into contact with Kotzel on their journey of 867 from Moravia to Rome, where Constantine died on February 14, 869. Kotzel subsequently requested Rome to name Methodius bishop of Pannonia. There is thus no basis for the statement in the *Povest* that Constantine continued his missionary activity in Bulgaria, though the influence of Methodius and his disciples was eventually strong in that state. The *Povest* also makes no distinction between the first contact of both brothers with Rome and Methodius' later journey thither during the papacy of John VIII. The tradition supplied by the *Povest*, on the basis of the *Pannonian Legend*, that Methodius translated the previously unrendered sections of the Bible between March 20 and October 6 of one year is generally regarded as apocryphal. It is, on the other hand, conceded that Constantine, at some early stage of his mission, did invent a Slavic alphabet. This was not the so-called Cyrillic alphabet, a derivative of which is still used by Russians, Ruthenes, Serbs, and Bulgarians, but the more curious and difficult *Glagolica*, devised from ninth-century Greek cursive with some supplementary letters from other sources.[1]

The only documentary material included in the *Povest* consists of the various treaties with Byzantium, and the *Testament* and the *Letter* of Vladimir Monomakh. The textual and archival history of the treaties of 907, 912, 945, and 971 is completely obscure, and it has never been satisfactorily determined whether the copies preserved in the *Povest* represent Old-Russian texts of the treaties made when they were negotiated, or whether they are translations afterward prepared from Greek originals which subsequently came to light in Kiev itself. It is not likely that the Russian princes of the tenth century, who were by no means superior to Scandinavian freebooters elsewhere on the Continent, attached any grave significance to these scraps of paper, and the fact that there is but one Greek allusion to them would indicate that to the Byzantine authorities they were more a gesture than a contract. The obscurity, the grammatical uncertainty, and the general disregard of style shown by these treaty-texts leads to the conclusion that they were translated at a moment when they had no further value except as casual relics of the past.[1]

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[1] Cf. V. Jagić, *Enstehungsgeschichte*, pp. 182–247; *idem*, "Глаголическое Письмо," in *Энциклопедия Славянской Филологии*, III (Leningrad, 1911), 51–229.

The *Testament* (literally *Pouchenie*, "instruction") of Vladimir Monomakh, contained solely in the Laurentian MS. (pp. 301–309) under the year 1096, is in itself a literary monument of some consequence. While Shakhmatov supposed that the *Testament* was interpolated into one of his hypothetical redactions of the *Povest* during the second decade of the twelfth century, it would appear intrinsically more probable that it was preserved among Vladimir's descendants in the northern principalities and injected into the text of the *Povest* at a fairly late date.[2] In fact, the *Testament* seems to have been written toward the close of Vladimir's life, in view of its references to his advanced age and decrepitude, and, if we accept the tempting emendation of *и̅г̅* (13; L², 247) to *н̅г̅* (53), purports to outline his active career during a period of more than half a century. The most reasonable explanation for its appearance in the Laurentian MS. is provided by Istrin's suggestion that it was preserved, along with Vladimir's *Letter* to Oleg and the *Prayer* attributed to him, among his descendants at Suzdal, where it was found by the scribe Lawrence or one of his precursors, who arbitrarily attached the *Pouchenie* and the other documents to the narrative for the year 1096 because it was clear that the *Letter* to Oleg was associated with the events there recounted.[1]

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[1] Cf. S. Gedeonov, *Варяги и Русь* (Leningrad, 1876), pp. 282–285; V. Sergeyevich, "Греческое и Русское Право в Договорах с Греками X Века," in *Жур. Мин. Нар. Про.*, (Leningrad, Jan. 1882), p. 82; A. Dimitriu, "К Вопросу о Договорах Русских с Греками," in *Византийский Временник*, II (Leningrad, 1895), 3; A. A. Shakhmatov, *Повесть*, p. xxiv; V. M. Istrin, "Замечания о Начале Русской Летописи," in *Изв. Отд. Русск. Яз. и Слов.*, XXVI (Leningrad, 1921), 76, 77; *idem*, "Договоры Русских с Греками," in *Изв. Отд. Русск. Яз. и Слов.*, XXIX (Leningrad, 1924), 382–393. There appears, in the main, to be very little probability that a translation of each of these treaties was made into either Norse or Old Russian at the time of their negotiation, though the presence of Bulgarian interpreters in Constantinople during the tenth century is not unlikely.

[2] Shakhmatov considers (*Повесть*, vol. XXXIX) that the compiler of his hypothetical *Povest* text of 1118 was a monk originally belonging to the Crypt Monastery, who spent some time in Novgorod with Vladimir's son Mstislav, and was possibly his father-confessor. Upon Mstislav's return to the south (according to the Hypatian text, Mstislav took over Byelgorod in 1117), Shakhmatov thinks that this learned friar was intrusted by Mstislav with the edition of the supposed 1118 text. Shakhmatov also supposes that Mstislav, as oldest son of Vladimir Monomakh, had in his possession not only the *Pouchenie*, but also a copy of Vladimir's letter to Oleg son of Svyatoslav, which had been written in 1096 after Vladimir's younger son Izyaslav had lost his life in a battle against Oleg at Murom. Shakhmatov thus adopts the view that the *Pouchenie*, instead of being composed in its entirety by Vladimir himself shortly before his death in 1026, was actually written by him as early as 1100–1101, and that the account of Vladimir's campaigns was continued down to 1117 by Mstislav when he turned the document over to the compiler of the *Povest* redaction of 1118. These highly ingenious combinations unfortunately lack any real factual basis.

The lengthy account of the blinding of Vasilko included in the *Povest* under the year 1097 occupies a somewhat exceptional position. The author mentions himself by name as Vasili (p. 284), and includes in his narrative events which are briefly recorded in the purely chronological items of the *Povest* under 1098, 1099, and 1100. The narrative of Vasili has apparently exercised some influence on the form of the item for 1100, since both end with the same statement that to David the son of Igor was assigned the domain of Dorogobuzh, where he died (p. 289), while the city of Vladimir was given to Svyatopolk's son Yaroslav. Of the personality of Vasili so much is clear: he was an intimate of Vasilko, possibly his father-confessor, and was probably a native of Galicia or of Volhynia, in view of his familiarity with the geography of both and particularly of the country around Przemysl. The motives leading Vasili to describe at some length the misfortune of his patron, and the circumstances governing the insertion of his account in the *Povest*, are matters for conjecture only. His narrative was prepared, in any case, after David's death, which occurred May 25, 1112 (H³, 270). In view of the imputations against Svyatopolk, it is not impossible that Vasili may not have written until after that prince's death as well (April 16, 1113; H³, 271). Istrin (*loc. cit.*, p. 243) has suggested that Vasili's account became known in Kiev contemporaneously with the accession of Vladimir Monomakh, whom Vasili depicts in a favorable light, and that the compiler of the *Povest*, writing at the beginning of Vladimir's principate, was able to use this narrative very effectively in his compilation, though he retained his year-by-year narrative for the period 1098–1100. It may also be suggested that the detailed account of Vladimir's reaction to the news of the blinding of Vasilko may very well be an interpolation in Vasili's account.

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[1] Istrin, "Замечания," in *Изв.*, XXVII (Leningrad, 1922), 227–228.

Apart from the Greek materials employed and the sections of the *Povest* which, like the *Testament* of Vladimir Monomakh and the narrative of Vasili, are deliberate reproductions of extraneous documents, the *Povest* also stands in close relationship to certain extant native Russian literary works which are preserved independently of the *Chronicles*. Among these is the *Discourse on the Law of Moses and Grace through Christ*, attributed to the metropolitan Hilarion and thus dating from the middle of the tenth century.[1] This work was apparently inspired by contemporary discussions regarding the canonization of Vladimir I, which revolved principally around the question whether the adoption of Christianity by this prince resulted primarily from Greek influence or from Vladimir's own laudable initiative. The *Slovo* is important for the *Povest* in view of the fact that the Biblical quotations put in the mouth of the Greek missionary and beginning at p. 192 ("Hosea was thus the first") and extending as far as p. 194 ("Then Vladimir inquired"), are not taken directly from the Bible, but borrowed bodily from the *Slovo* (Sreznevski, pp. 45 ff.). The answer of the missionary to Vladimir's question regarding Christ's crucifixion (p. 195) is also influenced by Hilarion's discourse (*ibid.*, p. 35).

Another early work associated with the *Povest* is the *Memory and Eulogy of Vladimir* (*Память и Похвала Владимиру*), attributed to the monk James, who mentions himself in the text as its author. It differs from the *Povest*, however, in the essential point that the baptism of Vladimir is reported as occurring prior to the prince's expedition against Kherson and his marriage to the Princess Anna. This variation from the *Povest* account would seem to rest upon an earlier tradition, while the later narrative of Vladimir's baptism in Kherson appears to have evolved naturally from the information available regarding his attack upon that city, his negotiations with the Greek emperors for the hand of their sister, and the arrival of the Princess Anna with a numerous suite, including a goodly array of ecclesiastics. In consequence of the confusion caused by Shakhmatov's theories concerning lost chronicle redactions preceding the *Povest* in its extant form, the relation of the *Povest* account to the various early biographies of Vladimir cannot yet be viewed as satisfactorily determined.[2]

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[1] Editions: Nikolski, *Материалы*, pp. 28–55; V. Sreznevski, in *Мусин-Пушкинский Сборник* (Leningrad, 1893), pp. 32–74. Cf. Shakhmatov, *Разыскания*, p. 417; Istrin, *Очерк*, pp. 127–135. The work is commonly referred to as the *Slovo o Zakoně i Blagodati.*

[2] For text of the Jacobean *Eulogy*, cf. V. Sreznevski, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–32. On the

A problem of similar complexity is presented by the comparison of the *Povest* account of SS Boris and Gleb with the *Life* of these saints by Nestor and the additional work concerning them attributed to the monk James.[1] The source-relationships between these three works have never been determined with entire certainty. Shakhmatov (*Разыскания*, p. 34) emphatically rejects the idea that the *Povest* narrative is based upon the account of the monk James, on the ground that, apart from facts which it recounts in common with the *Povest*, the latter contains nothing but rhetorical effusions. He therefore considers it superfluous to search for any other source for the Jacobean *Life* except the *Povest*. Sukhomlinov (*op. cit.*, p. 84) had, however, considered the *Povest* account to be an abbreviation of the Jacobean *Life*. Shakhmatov's contention that James's work is based upon the *Povest* can be valid only if we admit his thesis that a chronicle text existed in some form prior to 1100, since the monk James, concerning whom next to nothing is known, is usually believed to have lived during the second half of the eleventh century. On the other hand, in spite of the discrepancies already noted between the Nestorian *Life* and the *Povest* (*supra*, p. 83), the general resemblance in content and arrangement between the two leads naturally to the conclusion that the Nestorian *Life*, written in all probability in the 'eighties of the eleventh century, was known and used by the compiler of the *Povest*, who supplemented Nestor's information with data derived from other sources. Shakhmatov, however (*op. cit.*, pp. 65, 66), rejects this conclusion in favor of the assumption that both the Nestorian *Life* and the *Povest* used the same earlier source, which, in harmony with his general theory, he considers to have been a primitive chronicle text of the earlier eleventh century.

Reference should finally be made to the discourse under the year 1068 (pp. 235–237) on the religious significance of barbarian incursions, shown by I. I. Sreznevski to be derived from the *Zlatostrui*, an anthology of the writings of John Chrysostom prepared by or for Tsar Symeon of Bulgaria from a Greek original.[2]

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traditional elements in the *Povest* narrative, cf. Shakhmatov, *Разыскания*, pp. 10–38, 133–161. The textual history of the various biographies of Vladimir presents in itself a highly complicated problem. Cf. E. Golubinski, *История Русской Церкви*, I (Moscow, 1901), 105–254; P. Serebryanski, *Древне-русския Княжеския Жития* (Moscow, 1915), pp. 43–81, and Texts, pp. 14–26.

[1] Texts of both in I. I. Sreznevski, *Сказания о Святых Борисе и Глебе* (Leningrad, 1860).

[2] *Сведения и Заметки о Малоизвестных и Неизвестных Памятниках*, vol. I (Leningrad, 1867), no. 25.

Apart from these textual reminiscences of Greek and earlier Russian authors, the compiler of the *Povest*, in combining his scanty material for the first century of his narrative, included a series of early traditions of considerable interest. Prominent among these is the legend of Kii and his brethren, followed by that of the calling of the Varangians, the occupation of Kiev by Askold and Dir,[1] and the elimination of the latter by Oleg. This prince is himself surrounded by an aura of legend, as is apparent from the account of his death by the bite of a serpent which issued forth from the skull of his dead charger, against which his soothsayers had warned him.[2] Further legendary material may be discerned in the *Povest* account of the death of Igor and Olga's complicated procedure of revenge upon the Derevlians.[3] Popular tradition also plays a distinguishable rôle in the narratives concerning Svyatoslav I and, in a slighter degree, St Vladimir and Svyatopolk I.[4]

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[1] For the sources of the legend of the journey of St Andrew up the river Dnieper, cf. Golubinski, *op. cit.*, I, 19–34. This legend was developed from Greek traditions according to which Andrew taught on the north shore of the Black Sea, and specifically in the Crimea. Cf. also A. Syedelnikov, "Древняя Киевская Легенда об Апостоле Андрее," *Slavia*, III (Prague, 1924), 316–335.

[2] The analogy of this account with the *Orvar-Odds Saga* has been frequently noted. Cf. R. C. Boer's ed. of the latter (Halle, 1892), chaps. 2, 3, 4, and especially A. I. Lyashchenko's interesting article: "Летописныя Сказания о Смерти Олега Вещего," in *Изв. Отд. Русск. Яз. и Слов.*, XXIX (Leningrad, 1925), 254–288, together with the literature there cited. Lyashchenko's conclusion (pp. 287–288) may be quoted: "Comparing the details of the *Chronicle* accounts of Oleg with the narratives of the sagas of Scandinavian heroes, we have noted features of resemblance between them. This similarity is explained by the cultural exchanges between Russes and Varangians during the first centuries of the historical life of Rus. It is difficult to determine what traditions are borrowed by Russes from Scandinavians, and *vice versa*. But the influence of Russian narratives on Scandinavian is unquestionable. . . . The tale of the death of Oleg by the sting of a serpent crawling out of his horse's skull, was transferred to Russia from Norway. The Russian influence is much more strongly felt in those Scandinavian sagas treating the more recent period, viz., Olga, Vladimir, and the time of Yaroslav." Cf. F. Braune, "Das historische Russland im nordischen Schrifttum des X–XIV. Jahrhunderts," in *Festschrift für Eugen Mogk* (Halle, 1924), pp. 150–196; S. H. Cross, "Yaroslav the Wise in Norse Tradition," in *Speculum*, IV (1929), 177–197.

[3] In the case of Olga, it seems clear that an early biography of the princess actually existed. It related mainly to her conversion, and remnants of it are preserved only in Serbian and North-Russian texts of late date. Cf. Serebryanski, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–11.

[4] Cf. Shakhmatov, *Разыскания*, pp. 477–488; Sukhomlinov, *op. cit.*, pp. 248–273; N. Kostomarov, "Предания Первоначальной Русской Летописи," in *Историческия Монографии*, XIII (Leningrad, 1881), 3–207.

The traditional nature of the introductory account of the migrations of the Slavs and their contacts with Huns and Avars is also apparent. From the accession of Yaroslav, however, the *Povest* rests largely on the personal reminiscences of contemporaries, and thus has the merits and defects of eyewitness narrative.

Chronology

It was early discovered that the chronology of the *Povest* opens with an error. Michael III did not begin his reign in 852, but on January 21, 842. The origin of this initial error as to Michael's accession has been satisfactorily established by Shakhmatov,[1] who points out that, while the compiler of the *Povest* could find mention both of the accession of Michael and of the first Russian raid upon Constantinople in Georgius Hamartolus, the only chronographic work available in translation in Russia at the beginning of the twelfth century was the *Χρονογραφικὸν Σύντομον* of Nicephorus the Patriarch (died 828). The chronological table included in the *Povest* (p. 144) is, in fact, derived from this source. The compiler of the *Povest*, taking Nicephorus' erroneous figure of 318 for the interval separating the Nativity from the accession of Constantine the Great (actually A.D. 313), added to it, first, 530 — the elapsed time given by Nicephorus between Constantine the Great and Theophilus — and then 12 — the number of years of Theophilus' reign. He thus secured a total of 860, which would accordingly be the year of the Christian era in which, on the basis of this computation, Michael came to the throne. Adding to this figure the number 5500 which Nicephorus, following the Alexandrian era, gives as the number of years from Creation to Nativity, the compiler thus arrived at the year 6360 from Creation. If this be properly reduced to the reckoning of the Christian era by subtracting 5508, the result is the erroneous year 852.[2]

Shakhmatov also devoted another highly ingenious study to the chronology of the *Povest* through 945, which, though written on the basis of his earlier hypotheses as to the primitive versions of the

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[1] "Исходная Точка Леточисления *Повести Временных Лет*," in *Жур. Мин. Нар. Просв.*, I (Leningrad, 1897), 217–222.

[2] K. de Boor, *Nicephori Archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Opuscula Historica* (Leipzig, 1890), pp. 83, 84, 102; M. Weingart, *op. cit.*, I, 56, 57; N. V. Stepanov, "Летописец Никефора в Новгородской Кормчей," in *Изв. Отд. Русск. Яз. и Слов.*, XVII (Leningrad, 1912), ii, 250–293, iii, 256–320.

Povest, still possesses marked value.[1] As Shakhmatov points out,[2] the only variations in chronology among the various extant texts of the *Povest* occur prior to 945. In the present study, the position has been taken that the *Povest* as we have it is a homogeneous work, the compilation of which occupied a period of several years toward the close of the eleventh and the opening of the twelfth century. Even a cursory examination of the text shows, moreover, that the last long series of "empty years" occurs just prior to the narrative of Svyatoslav's campaigns beginning with 964 (p. 170). In fact, the material contained in the *Povest* between 945 and this date, relating to Igor's campaign against the Derevlians and the picturesque revenge of Olga, is largely legendary in nature. It is thus during the first century of his narrative that the compiler had the greatest difficulty in composing a connected account with the limited material at his disposal, so that he was obliged to depend almost entirely upon Byzantine sources for the framework upon which to hang the scanty data preserved by native Russian tradition. This observation is clearly corroborated by the fact that the dates in the *Povest* prior to 945 fall into two classes: (*a*) those which could be derived from Greek sources or computed from data contained in the latter; and (*b*) those relating to Russian events, which are conventionally inserted among the Greek data at points which appeared logical to the compiler.

In view of the extensive excerpts from the expanded text of Georgius Hamartolus occurring in the *Povest*, but exclusively from its beginning to 943, it may be safely assumed that this work was the compiler's basic source for this period, particularly since the *Chronograph* of Nicephorus was utilizable only to its conclusion at the accession of Michael III. The compiler could thus derive from Hamartolus the date upon which Romanus Lecapenus crowned his wife Theodora, viz., January 6, 6428, and therefore A.D. 921. He could also conclude from the passage immediately preceding that Romanus was named Caesar in the same year, viz., on September 24, 6428, or A.D. 920.[3]

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[1] "Хронология Древнейших Русских Летописных Сводов," in *Жур. Мин. Нар. Просв.*, I (Leningrad, 1897), 463–482.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 464.

[3] Von Muralt, *ed. cit.*, p. 816: "*κδ′ τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου μηνὸς τιμᾶται Ῥωμανὸς τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀξίᾳ*"; Istrin, I, 552: "Въ к̅ и д̅ д̅н̅ сентевриа м̅ц̅а почтенъ бис̅ Рωманъ Кесаревомъ саномъ"; von Muralt, *ibid.*: "*καὶ Ἰανουαρίου ϛ′ τῇ τῶν αγίων φωτῶν ἡμέρᾳ στέφει Θεοδώραν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ*"; Istrin, I, 553: "в л̅ѣ̅ ѕ̅ук̅и индикта и̅ геноуариа м̅ц̅а въ ѕ̅ с̅т̅ы б̅г̅оявленiи д̅н̅ь, вѣнчаетъ ц̅р̅ феωдороу

With the latter date as a starting point, it was a simple matter for the compiler of the *Povest* to compute the dates for the accessions of Leo the Wise and of Basil the Macedonian. Hamartolus (von Muralt, p. 799) states that the youthful Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, after the death of Leo the Wise, ruled seven years with his guardians and his mother, after being associated one year as *βασιλεύς* with Leo's brother Alexander (*ibid.*, p. 795). The death of Leo the Wise is thus correctly dated as of 912. Hamartolus records (*ibid.*, p. 766) that Leo's reign lasted twenty-five years and eight months. By using twenty-six years as a computing basis, the compiler thus obtained 886–887 (6394–6395) as the date of Leo's accession, and reading (von Muralt, p. 752) that Basil the Macedonian ruled for nineteen years, he thus deduced that Basil came to the throne in 867–868 (6375–6376). Curiously enough, if the compiler had continued with this method, he would probably have obtained the correct date (842) for the accession of Michael III, but he appears to have contented himself with the original erroneous figure derived from Nicephorus. Beginning thus with the initial date of 852, the compiler found in Hamartolus (*ibid.*, p. 732, l. 15, variant), the attribution of Michael's expedition against the Bulgarians to the fourth year of his reign, and therefore made mention of this event as of 853–858 (6361–6366). The attack upon Constantinople by Askold and Dir, of which the historical original took place in 860,[1] is set by the compiler in the fourteenth year of Michael's reign, i. e., 866 (6374). This appears to be a case of purely arbitrary fixation. The compiler may conceivably have had before him a text of Hamartolus dating the Rus raid in the ninth year of Michael.[2] With Michael's accession fixed in 852, the ninth year of this emperor's reign would have brought the date of the raid to 861, which would have con-

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. . . ц҃рцею." Cf. E. von Muralt: *Essai de Chronographie Byzantine* (Leningrad, 1855), pp. 497, 498. It is obvious that the Bulgarian translator of Hamartolus here had before him a Greek text in which this date was given; it appears, in fact, among von Muralt's variants. It should be noted in general that von Muralt's text is unscientific and highly unsatisfactory, and is employed in this study solely for reasons of convenience. Cf. K. de Boor's trenchant remarks on this point (*ed. cit.*, I, x). Though the accretions to Hamartolus after 843 are derived from Symeon the Logothete, they are here conventionally referred to as belonging to the Hamartolus text, since the Russian Chronicler doubtless regarded them as such.

[1] Cf. K. de Boor, "Der Angriff der Rhos auf Byzanz," in *Byz. Zts.*, IV (Leipzig, 1897), 444–466; F. Cumont, *Anec. Brux.*, I (Ghent, 1894), 33.

[2] Cf. von Muralt, p. 736, variant 4: "*τῷ θ′ αὐτοῦ ἔτει ἐκστρατεύει κατὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν.*"

flicted with the date chosen for the legendary "calling of the princes." The compiler thus seems to have moved the raid sufficiently forward to allow the evolution of the traditional process by which the Scandinavian Russes were supposed to have become established.[1]

The date 869 (6387), to which is assigned the conversion of the Bulgarians, appears to be derived, not from Hamartolus, where the conversion is connected with Michael's expedition (dated in the *Povest* as of 858), but from some source giving the death of St Cyril (Constantine) as having occurred in 869, which year the compiler took as the date of the Bulgarian adoption of Christianity.

The date 902 (6410), in which Leo the Wise is reported to have used the Huns as his allies against the Bulgarians, is explained by reading a paragraph number into the text, since in the Slavic translation of Hamartolus (Istrin, I, 529), the numeral д̄ (4) precedes the paragraph, and was read by the compiler of the *Povest* as the year of Leo's reign. In the two items of 914–915 (6422–6423) concerning Symeon of Bulgaria, the date is derived from an adjacent item in Hamartolus (von Muralt, p. 805: "*Σεπτεμβρίῳ δὲ μηνὶ ἰνδικτιῶνος γʹ, Παγκρατούκας ὁ Ἀρμένιος τὴν Ἀδριανούπολιν τῷ Συμεὼν παρέδωκε*"). The compiler identified the third indiction as 915 (6423), probably because the year of

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[1] Shakhmatov (*loc. cit.*, pp. 455–456, 470, 477) explains this error by the assumption that the author of an hypothetical basic chronicle text which he dates as of *ca.* 1073 knew the correct date of Michael's accession (842), but misread the Slavic translation of Hamartolus to the extent of mistaking the chapter heading І̄В̄ ([12]; Istrin, I, 511, l. 7) for the twelfth year of Michael's reign, and thus succeeded in dating the raid as of 854. The compiler of the first redaction of the *Povest* (1116) in his turn mistook 854 for the date of Michael's accession, and thus, according to Shakhmatov, moved the raid forward to 866. Finally, the compiler of a second redaction of the *Povest* (1118), being, in Shakhmatov's opinion, the first to have at his disposal a translation of Nicephorus, corrected the accession of Michael to 852, but kept the date of 866 for the raid, changing "twelfth" to "fourteenth" in accordance with his previous correction.

Shakhmatov subsequently modified his theory as to primitive texts prior to 1116 by attributing the hypothetical compilation of 1073 to the monk Nikon (*supra*, p. 94), and basing the latter upon his equally hypothetical "most ancient" ("древнейший") Kiev text of 1039. In his restoration of the supposed Nikonian text (*Разыскания*, pp. 539–610), he admits no dates at all before 978 (6486, the accession of Vladimir), and likewise assumes (*ibid.*, pp. 97–108) that the chronological framework was introduced only in the hypothetical text of 1095. This important change of view between 1897 and 1908 is but one of the many revisions to which Shakhmatov subjected his own hypotheses concerning the evolution of the *Povest*, and suggests that Slavists who unquestioningly accept Shakhmatov's later views as a basis for further investigation are building on a by no means sound foundation.

Romanus' succession, his basic date (920 or 6428), is referred to in Hamartolus as the eighth indiction. Since the first expedition of Symeon is mentioned in Hamartolus (*ibid.*, p. 802) as having taken place in August, the compiler of the *Povest* simply referred it to the previous year (914). The year 929 (6437), given as the date of a third raid by the Bulgarian prince, is manifestly wrong, since Symeon died on May 27, 927. The error is due to the text of Hamartolus (von Muralt, p. 824: "*Σεπτεμβρίῳ δὲ μηνὶ ἰνδικτιῶνος β' Συμεὼν ὁ ἄρχων Βουλγαρίας πανστρατὶ κατὰ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκστρατεύει*," where *β'* [2] is erroneously written for *ιβ'* [12], i. e., the second indiction [929–6437] for the twelfth [924–6432]). The Russian compiler quite logically figured that if 6428 (920) was the eighth indiction, the next following second indiction should be 6437 (929). Symeon, as it happens, actually died in the fifteenth indiction (927). Similarly, the date 934 (6442), to which is attributed the Hunnish attack upon Constantinople, is figured back from the number of the indiction given by Hamartolus (von Muralt, p. 840: "*ἐγένετο δὲ ἐκστρατεία πρώτη τῶν Τούρκων κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἰνδ. ζ' Ἀπρ. μηνί*"). The next seventh indiction after 920 (6428) would thus be 934 (6442). In the same way, the date of Igor's expedition of 941 (6449) is derived from the indiction in Hamartolus (von Muralt, p. 841: "*Ἰουνίῳ μηνὶ ια' κατέπλευσαν οἱ Ῥῶς*," without indiction, but cf. Istrin, I, 567: "Иоуня же м̅ц̅а и̅і̅ д̅н̅ь д̅і̅ [14] индикъ приплоу Роусь." The erroneous date supplied for Symeon's death (6450–942) goes back to the mistake in the text of Hamartolus applying to the *Povest* date of 929 which, as has just been shown, should be 924. The death of Symeon is correctly referred by Hamartolus to the fifteenth indiction (von Muralt, p. 830: "*Μαίῳ δὲ μηνὶ κϛ' ἰνδικτιῶνος ιε', Συμεὼν ὁ ἄρχων Βουλγαρίας ἐτελεύτησε*"). The Russian scribe argued that if the last second indiction was 929 (6437), the next fifteenth would be 942 (6450), though actually the previous fifteenth indiction was the correct one for his purposes (927–6435). Finally, the date of the second Hun advance upon Constantinople is also supplied from Hamartolus (von Muralt, p. 844: "*Ἰνδικτιῶνι δὲ α', Ἀπριλλίῳ μηνὶ ἐπῆλθον πάλιν οἱ Τοῦρκοι μετὰ πλείστης δυνάμεως*"), since the next first indiction was naturally 943 (6451). All dates thus referring to items derived from Greek sources are now accounted for except the treaties of 907, 912, and 945, the dates of which are generally assumed to be derived from the texts of these instruments themselves.

The actual extent of the subject-matter with which the compiler of the *Povest* was working as far as 945 must be regarded as relatively limited. The native written sources for this period were obviously nil, and legends apparently very scanty. The early traditions covering this epoch centre upon Rurik, the capture of Kiev by Oleg and his subjugation of the adjacent tribes, his Greek expedition, his mythical death (possibly derived from a Scandinavian source), and Igor's raids upon Constantinople. For the period following 945, there were available by the late eleventh century other literary accounts of Olga and her conversion (*supra*, p. 108, n. 3), highly developed traditions and Greek sources concerning Svyatoslav, and a considerable body of material concerning Vladimir I. Where the compiler's ingenuity was principally required was thus in the course of the first century of his narrative. We may suppose that the names of Rurik and his kin, of Askold and Dir, and of Oleg and Igor survived in popular legend at Kiev in somewhat the same fashion as the heroes of the later *byliny*. The problem for the chronicler was to extract from these fragmentary survivals the semblance of an historical account. While there may be some conceivable doubt whether Rurik and his relatives, and possibly Askold and Dir, were actual personages, Oleg and Igor are soundly attested, presumably with dates, by the treaties with the Greeks in which they are mentioned by name. The chronicler could thus work back from these treaties and attach the subjects of tradition, wherever possible, to a related item of Greek chronology. Regarding Igor he had no material apart from the fact that he was Rurik's son and the husband of Olga, that he made a treaty with the Greeks, and that he fought consistently with the Derevlians, in one fatal campaign against whom he met his death. From the treaty of 945, he was known to have been a contemporary of Romanus Lecapenus. If there were no traditions as to his age at marriage and accession, it was a simple matter to associate the latter event conventionally with the accession of Constantine VII (913), and date his marriage just before Oleg's Greek expedition of 907. Oleg himself is personally identified by the accords of both 907 and 912. Apart from these two instruments, the only traditions available concerning Oleg were that he was Rurik's kinsman and heir, that he obtained possession of Kiev by slaying the Varangian chiefs then dominating that centre, exacted tribute from the neighboring Slavic tribes, and finally met a curious death against which the soothsayers had warned him. His campaigns against three distinct tribes are used to account for three successive years after his capture of Kiev, and all these events, which the compiler either assumed or were traditionally reported to have occurred after the death of Rurik, are used to cover a stretch of seven years. Prior to Igor, nothing remains for which an approximate date could be fixed, apart from the "calling of the princes" and the raid upon Constantinople attributed to Askold and Dir. The former tradition and the implications of the Norman theory are discussed in some detail in the following section, while the latter, as recounted in the *Povest*, shows evidence of an attempt to combine a native tradition with a Greek historical account. Such material as survived in legend concerning the early migratory movements of the Slavs on Danube and Vistula could scarcely be reduced to even an elementary chronology.

An analysis of the chronological content of the *Povest* prior to 945 indicates that the skeleton of dates is entirely derived from Greek sources, and that the content of surviving traditions has been overlaid upon this framework. The fragmentary nature of the extant native information covering the epoch preceding the middle of the tenth century points less to the composition of the primitive text suggested by Shakhmatov for 1039, when some survivors of the younger generation of Svyatoslav's day must still have been alive, than to a conscious literary effort made considerably later to preserve in the *Povest* what few historical *débris* of the earlier period still remained at hand.

It may be assumed that from the conversion of Vladimir sufficient chronological material was preserved in ecclesiastical records to serve as a satisfactory basis for the compiler's work as far as the point where his own notes and reminiscences provided his chronological outline.

The Traditional Origin of Rus

Almost at its beginning, the *Povest* introduces the problem of the original and prehistoric habitat of the Slavs, preserving the tradition (p. 137) that "for many years the Slavs had their abode by the Danube, where the Hunnish and the Bulgarian land now lies." From this locality, the *Povest* represents them as expanding into the valley of the Bohemian Morava, and after attacks by the Vlakhs, it is likewise asserted that the Slavs moved north into the Vistula basin. Further movement is also reported toward the basin of the Dnieper and the area between the Pripet and the Dvina, while the founders of Novgorod settled upon the shores of Lake Ilmen.

This narrative supplied for centuries the accepted view of Slavic origins, until rivaled by the so-called Sarmatian theory, which linked the Slavs, not with the Danube, but with the Don, and therefore placed them in close kinship with the Iranian Scyths and Sarmatians, who inhabited South Russia in classic times, or even with the Vandals and the Germans. It was, in fact, not until the time of Karamzin and Dobrovsky, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, that a more scientific conception arose, expressed fundamentally in the famous letter of Dobrovsky to Kopitar: "Mir beweisst alles dies, dass die Slaven keine Dacier, Geten, Thracier, Illyrier, Pannonier sind . . . Slaven sind Slaven, und haben nächste Verwandtschaft mit den Litauern. Also muss man sie hinter diesen suchen, am oder hinter dem Dnieper." (V. Jagić, *Письма Добровского и Копитара* [Leningrad, 1885], p. 119.) The evolution of a more accurate understanding of the early relations of the Slavs to other European peoples was subsequently furthered, during the early nineteenth century, by the progress of comparative philology from the publication of Bopp's celebrated *Vergleichende Grammatik* (1833). One hundred years ago, however, the Slavs were generally looked upon, even by many scholars of repute, as an intellectually inferior race of obscure Asiatic origin. As Hegel wrote, in his *Lectures on the Philosophy of History* (Jubiläumsausgabe [Stuttgart, 1928], XI, 447): "Sie [die Slaven] müssen aus unserer Betrachtung bleiben, weil sie ein Mittelwesen zwischen europäischem und asiatischem Geist bilden, und weil ihr Einfluss auf den Stufengang des Geistes nicht tätig und wichtig genug ist." This characteristic disparagement of the Slavs by contemporary scholars ranked among the chief motives which inspired the first fundamental work on Slavic origins, the *Starožitnosti Slovanské* of Josef Šafařík (1837), the starting point for all further investigations in this field. The progress of anthropological research and, more recently, of archaeological study, has since that day made vast contributions to our knowledge of the prehistoric movement and differentiation of the Slavic peoples.[1]

Though the tradition preserved in the *Povest* very likely represents what such Russians of the early twelfth century as gave any thought to the matter believed concerning their racial antecedents, it is not in accord with other sources antedating the *Povest* by two centuries or more, which indicate that, at the moment of the earliest recorded mediaeval contacts with peoples identifiable as Slavic, the habitat of the latter was considerably to the north of the Danube and even beyond the Carpathians. In fact, the prevailing modern view now places the original habitat of the Slavs at the beginning of the Christian era in the vicinity of the upper Vistula, extending eastward to the middle Dnieper basin, but bounded to the northeast by the Lithuanians along the Niemen and the Dvina, while the Mazurian Lakes and swamps at first shut them off from the Baltic. Thus Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, IV, 97), Tacitus (*Germ.*, XLVI), and Ptolemy (*Geog.*, III, 5, 7) all mention the Venedi (Οὐενέδαι), who are generally admitted to have been Slavs, as inhabiting the Vistula basin or the area to the east of the Germanic tribes and along the Baltic.

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[1] For a brief survey of the early views on Slavic origins, cf. L. Niederle, *Manuel de l'Antiquité Slave*, I (Paris, 1923), 1–12. The evolution of scholarship in this field is analyzed in greater detail in the same author's *Slovanské Starožitnosti*, vol. I (2d ed., Prague, 1925), pt. 1, pp. 1–65. The development of Slavic philology is broadly treated in V. Jagić, *История Славянской Филологии* (Leningrad, 1910).

The *Povest* nowhere refers to the dispersion of the Slavs throughout the Balkan peninsula, but makes fairly detailed mention of the Slavic tribes in what is now Polish and Russian territory. By the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., in fact, it is fairly well established that the Eastern Slavs had spread northward as far as Lake Ilmen and southeastward to the Don and the Sea of Azov. They were thus exposed to the inroads of the Huns, beginning in 375, who were followed a century later by the Bulgarians, and about 550 by the Avars, regarding all of whom dim memories are scantily preserved in the *Povest*. It is, on the whole, curious that these reminiscences should have survived when, as far as the *Povest* is concerned, all trace of the vast domain of the Slavic Antes or Antae, which figure prominently in historical accounts from the fourth century forward, should have been wiped out. From their headquarters along the Dniester, their raids of the sixth century across the Danube and into the Balkans constituted a serious menace to the Byzantine Empire.[1] They disappear from Byzantine sources after the first decade of the seventh century. Their sudden disappearance is better explained by the fact that from this period the Danube ceased to be the Byzantine frontier than by the supposition that a race referred to by Procopius as literally measureless (*Bell. Got.*, IV, 4) should have been totally exterminated by the Avars, with whom they were in bitter conflict. A remote connection between the Antes and the *Povest* narrative may be established through the mention in the latter of the Dulebians as oppressed by the Avars (p. 140). This Slavic tribe, as the *Povest* relates, had its seat upon the Bug, in Volhynia. Mas'ūdī, an Arabic writer of the tenth century, mentions the tradition that in ancient times the Volhynians dominated the rest of the Slavic tribes.[2] These accounts thus point to the existence of a Slavic federation centering in Volhynia, which disintegrated before the violence of the Avars toward the beginning of the seventh century.

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[1] Cf. Niederle, *Slov. Star.*, vol. I (Prague, 1925), pt. 4, pp. 72–81, and sources there cited.

[2] J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 111.

According to the *Povest* (p. 141), the Slavic tribes on Russian soil were fairly well localized at an epoch which may be assumed to precede by a considerable interval the conventional opening date of Russian history. The Polyanians inhabited the open country on the west bank of the Dnieper between Teterev and Ros, with the Uluchians and the Tivercians as their southern neighbors toward Bug and Dniester. Across the Dnieper, on its eastern shore, between the Desna and the Sula, were settled the Severians, beyond whom, to the northwest, were found the Vyatichians on the southern course of the Oka. The Radimichians lay along the Sož, and the Krivichians on the upper Volga and the watershed between the latter and the Dvina. North of the Polyanians, the Dregovichians occupied the wooded country south of the Pripet, while beyond the Dregovichians to the northward, Lithuanian and Finnish tribes lay between Niemen and Dvina. The settlers about Lake Ilmen were the only ones to employ the characteristic name of Slavs (*Slověne*), which, though of uncertain derivation, was destined ultimately to extend to the whole race.[1]

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[1] The name *Slav* first appears in a source of the early sixth century (Pseudo-Caesarius of Nazianzus [Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, XXXVIII, 847]), and then frequently from Procopius and Jordanes forward. By the seventh century, certainly, it was the generic term for members of this race. The original form *Slověnin*, plural *Slověne* (*Словѣнинъ*, *Словѣне*) corresponds, except for the inserted *k* and *t*, to the Greek and Latin Σκλαβηνοί, Στλαυηνοί, *Sclaveni*, *Stlaueni*, and it has been suggested that the shorter forms Σκλάβοι, Σθλάβοι, *Sclavi*, *Stlavi* are imitated from the numerous characteristic proper names ending in *-slavъ*. The origin of the *k* is dubious, though it may be remarked that the initial combination *sl* occurs in no native Greek word, while *skl*, of which the sound is identical to an unpracticed ear, was familiar from σκληρός and its cognates, and *stl* occurs in στλεγίς, etc. The Arabic forms which include the *k* (*Asqālab*, *Ṣaqāliba*) would thus appear to depend originally on these Greek forms. Popular etymology rapidly developed a legendary derivation from *slava*, "glory," while numerous competent scholars, including Dobrovsky and Šafařik, have accepted the derivation from *slovo*, "word," thus interpreting *Slověne* to mean "speakers of the same language." This derivation is, however, suspect, in view of the fact that *-ěnin* (plur. *-ěne*) is invariably a suffix denoting origin from a place or locality. The most recent attempt to etymologize *Slověnin* is offered by A. Brückner in *Slavia*, III (Prague, 1924), 199–203, who characterizes it as a nickname derived from pregerm. **slaiwa* = Ags. *slāw* = Eng. *slow*, which he connects with Goth. *slawan*, "be silent." Apart from the fact that the relation of *slawan* to **slaiwa* is questionable (not recognized by S. Feist, *Etym. Wtb. d. got. Sp.*, 2d ed. [Halle, 1923], *s. v.*, nor by *NED*, *s. v.*, "slow"), it remains to be shown at what juncture this Germanic nickname was applied to the Slavs, and to what particular

The *Povest* represents these tribes as bound by language and sense of common origin, but differentiated in customs, usages, and degree of civilization. "They *each* preserved their own customs, the law of their fathers, and their traditions, each one observing his own usages." (p. 141) The distinction is clearly drawn between the more advanced Polyanians, who lived in the area of the age-old civilization along the Dnieper trade-route, and the rough and brutal customs observed by the tribes of the periphery. No mention is made of their religious beliefs beyond the assertion that certain of the tribes (Radimichians, Vyatichians, and Severians) burned their dead, and preserved the ashes in urns set upon posts beside the highways. The first mention of the Slavic pantheon occurs, in fact, in connection with the treaty of 907 (p. 151), where we find that Oleg's companions "swore by their weapons and their god Perun, as well as by Volos, god of cattle, and thus confirmed the treaty." The absence in the *Povest* of any detailed information on the religious life of the early Slavs is readily explained by the supposition that only the pagan priests and initiates knew the details of such religious usages as prevailed, while the elimination of the pagan priesthood upon the introduction of Christianity prevented any diffusion of the beliefs and superstitions which these initiates possessed. There is also very little evidence that anything like a systematic Slavic pantheon ever existed.[1]

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branch of the latter. A certain parallelism between this derivation and the Slavic use of *нѣмец* ("dummy") for *German* is apparent.

[1] Slavic paganism is conveniently discussed in Niederle, *Manuel*, II (Paris, 1925), 127–168, and *Slov. Star.*, II, Pt. 1 (2d ed., Prague, 1924). Cf. also F. Mansikka, *Religion der Ostslaven* (Helsinki, 1921); A. Brückner, "Mythologische Thesen," in *Arch. Slav. Philol.*, XL (1925), 1–22; *Mitologja Słowianska* (Cracow, 1918); L. Léger, *La Mythologie Slave* (Paris, 1901); A. Sobolevski, "Замѣтки по Славянской Миѳологіи," in *Slavia*, VII (Prague, 1928), 174–178, C. Clemen, *Religionsgeschichte Europas* (Heidelberg, 1926) I, 368–377, J. Máchal, "Slavic Mythology," in *Mythology of All Races* (Boston, 1918), III, 222–361, bibliography *ibid.*, pp. 389–398. — Taking oath by Perun is again mentioned at the ratification of the treaty of 945 (p. 163), while at the accession of Vladimir I it is recorded (p. 180) that "he set up idols on the hill outside the palace with the hall; one of Perun . . . and others of Khors, Dazhbog, Stribog, Simargl, and Mokosh." It has been suggested in the latter instance that the *Povest* is in error, because in the cases of the well-known Slavic pagan shrines at Arkona, Garz, and Stettin, only one image was found in any one shrine (Brückner, *Thesen*, p. 10). Perun is generally identified as the god of thunder, and gained in importance in Russia under the influence of the Thor cult; elsewhere there is very little evidence in favor of a native Slavic thunder-god Perun. Dazhbog is the sun-god, and Stribog was apparently associated with the

The Polyanians are described as a meek and unwarlike people, harassed by the Derevlians, and before the arrival of the Varangians, reduced to tribute by the Khazars, who likewise acquired the domination over the Severians, the Vyatichians, and the Radimichians.[1] This peaceful temper of the Slavic tribes made them an easy prey for more energetic interlopers. The *Povest* preserves the tradition that the Slavic tribes of Northern Russia, in common with their Finnish neighbors, were for some time tributary to the "Varangians from beyond the sea" (p. 144). Stirred to revolt by the exactions of the latter, the Slavs eventually rebelled, but were unable, according to the *Povest,*

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winds. Of the attributes of Simargl, absolutely nothing is known, and the nature both of Khors and of the goddess Mokosh is scarcely less enigmatic, though the latter has been identified with Astarte, whose cult may have reached the Dnieper valley through oriental channels. Volos is the god of the dead. It has been suggested that his attribute as god of flocks rises from a late assimilation to St Blasius.

[1] For the Khazars, cf. *Camb. Med. Hist.*, IV, 188–192; J. B. Bury, *Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912), pp. 402–408; H. Kutschera, *Die Chasaren* (Vienna, 1910); Niederle, *Slov. Star.*, vol. I, Pt. 4, pp. 51–53, also *Manuel*, I, 178, 196; V. Parkhomenko, "Киевская Русь и Хазария," *Slavia*, VI (Prague, 1927), 380–387. The Khazars were a Turco–Tatar tribe, who appear at the beginning of the seventh century as settlers on the lower Volga. After the death of the Bulgarian Khagan Kuvrat (642), they subjected the Bulgarian territory around the Sea of Azov, and their movement apparently inspired a migration of the Bulgars westward toward the Danube and northward toward the Kama. The Khazars were the first Turco–Tatar tribe to penetrate far into Europe. Their domain centred between the Donetz, the Kuban, and the lower Volga. Controlling the trade routes of the lower Don and the Volga, they rapidly increased in wealth and influence, and were the constant allies of Byzantium against the Arabian Caliphate. Their principal eastern centre was the city of Itil on the Volga near the site of modern Astrakhan, but in the ninth century, Byzantine engineers built for the Khagan the fortified town of Sarkel, usually identified with the city mentioned in the *Povest* as Byela Vyezha, designed to resist the attacks of the nomad Pechenegs and the raids of the Russes. (Marquart, *Streifzüge*, pp. 1 ff., endeavors to establish that Byela Vyezha actually refers to Itil instead of Sarkel.) The Emperor Michael III sent Constantine (Cyril) on a missionary visit to the Khazars in 851, but the influence of Judaism, proceeding from Jewish communities both in the Crimea and in the Caucasus, was momentarily stronger than either Islam or Christianity. In the ninth century, therefore, Judaism thus became the official faith until overshadowed by Islam, which was adopted by the Khazar ruler about 950 to ensure Khwarezmian aid against the invading Turks (Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 4). At this time, the decline of the Khazar state had already begun. It was hard pressed by the Pechenegs, while the Slavic tribes, especially after they fell under the leadership of the Varangian element, rapidly achieved independence from the mild Khazar yoke. Byela Vyezha was thus itself captured by Svyatoslav in 965.

to arrive at any satisfactory inter-tribal understanding. To escape from the resulting confusion, the *Povest* thus reports that they sent overseas "to the Varangian Russes," saying, "Our land is great and rich, but there is no order in it; come and rule and have dominion over us." This invitation was accepted by Rurik and his brethren, each of whom assumed control over a North-Russian centre, with Rurik himself at Novgorod, Sineus at Byeloozero, and Truvor at Izborsk. Such, in its simplest terms, is the narrative of the "calling of the princes," which has inspired a larger volume of controversial literature than any other disputed point in Russian history.

Contentious literature on this problem begins with the early studies of Russian history by German scholars who joined the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences during the first half of the eighteenth century. The natural tendency of these historians, among whom the pioneers were Gottlieb Bayer and Gerhart Friedrich Müller, was to take the *Povest* narrative at its face value, and to identify the Varangians and the Russes as Scandinavians. This view was vehemently opposed, partly from patriotic bias and partly because of insufficient education, by the native historian Lomonosov, who in 1749 was thus instrumental in preventing the delivery before the Academy of Müller's oration *De Origine Gentis et Nominis Russorum*. The Scandinavian origin of the Russes was, notwithstanding, accepted by a respectable list of older Slavic scholars of the first rank from Karamzin through Šafařik, and the scientific basis of this view, as held during the first half of the nineteenth century, is effectively summarized in the work of E. Kunik, *Die Berufung der schwedischen Ruodsen durch die Finnen und Slaven* (Leningrad, 1844). The balance of scholarship has thus generally favored the Scandinavian (or Norman) theory, and there was no really serious answer to the Norman school until the appearance, in 1871, of D. Ilovaiski's work, *О Мнимом Призвании Варягов*, ably seconded, in 1876, by S. Gedeonov's study, *Варяги и Русь*. From this revival, the adherents of the Slavic (anti-Norman) school increased in numbers and importance, including such names as Zabyelin, Pervolf, Filevich, Hrushevski, and Golubovski. A fresh aspect of the question was likewise opened up by new studies of Arabic sources, which indicated that the Russes were known on Russian soil prior to the traditional date set for the beginning of Russian history. The salutary contribution of the Slavic school has lain primarily in keeping the question open and in exposing weaknesses in the Normanist system, particularly in connection with the credibility of the *Primary Chronicle*. The best modern exposition of the Norman theory still remains W. Thomsen's *Origin of the Ancient Rus* (London, 1877). With the exceptions just noted, moreover, the ablest representatives of Russian historiography (Pogodin, Solovyov, Klyuchevski, Milyukov, Pokrovski) and of Slavic philology (Miklosich, Sreznevski, Jagić, Shakhmatov, Brückner) have all been adherents of the Norman school. The present tendency in handling this question is to attach less weight to the traditional account in the *Primary Chronicle* and rather to follow the evidence as to early Scandinavian–Russian relations supplied by Greek and Oriental sources and by the results of sound archaeological research.

In a passage inserted in the context of the cosmography derived from Hamartolus, the *Povest* (p. 137) remarks that the Varangians live on the shores of the Varangian Sea, and that to the race of Japheth belong, among other nations, the Varangians, the Swedes, the Normans, the Russes, and the Angles. The Varangian Sea is identified as the Baltic in the subsequent passage which describes the trade-route connecting it with the Black Sea (p. 138) via the Neva River, Lake Ladoga, the Volkhov, Lake Ilmen, the Lovat, and the Dnieper, and likewise by the statement (*ibid.*) that the river Dvina flows into the Varangian Sea. The Varangians lived, according to the *Primary Chronicle*, not merely on the Baltic, but across it.[1] Varangian is a generic term, of which Rus is a particular. As the *Povest* puts it (p. 145): "They went overseas to the Varangian Russes; for so they are called, and are Varangians, just as other [Varangians] are known as Swedes, Normans, Angles, and Goths." The names of the three brothers who migrated to Russia are readily reduced to Scandinavian originals as Hrœrekr, Signiutr, and Þorvaðr (Thomsen, *op. cit.*, p. 71). Further, in the armaments of Oleg, Varangians are distinguished from Finnish and Slavic elements (pp. 146 and 149). The name Oleg itself corresponds to the Norse Helgi, as Olga to Helga and Igor to Ingvarr. In the treaty of 912, the *Povest* preserves a list of Oleg's retainers, much mutilated in transmission, but of which not one is Slavic, while all of them can be reduced to Scandinavian originals without violence to their present textual aspect. In the portion of the account of Oleg's expedition which is of native Russian origin (p. 149), the Russes and the Slavs are clearly distinguished, but in the treaty text itself, the whole expedition is designated as Rus. In the reign of Igor, the Varangian Russes are again distinguished from Polyanians, Slověne, and Krivichians (p. 158, *anno* 944), and once more, in the treaty of 945, a list of names is supplied of which the majority are not Slavic, but Norse (Thomsen, *loc. cit.*).

Quite apart from any question of the credibility of the *Povest* narrative, it thus represents a clear-cut tradition that the leaders summoned to Novgorod came from the other side of the Baltic, and belonged to a subdivision, called Rus, of the national element known as Varangians, to which belonged various other German tribes. The names of the immediate descendants and of the followers of these princes are specifically Scandinavian. In the recorded raids upon Constantinople, the Rus element took the lead, with the result that the Greeks negotiating with Scandinavians only supposed the entire expedition to be Rus, regardless of other elements in it.

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[1] Cf. L^2, 19: "Изъгнаша Варяги *за* море . . . идаша *за* море къ Варягомъ къ Русі."

Contemporary foreign sources testify abundantly that the Byzantine Greeks, even prior to 852, knew the Russes to be Scandinavians. In the *Annales Bertiniani* (ed. G. Waitz [Hannover, 1883], pp. 19, 20), it is reported that in 839 Theophilus sent an embassy to Louis the Pious, along with whom came certain individuals whom the Greeks called *Rhōs*. They were unable to return to their prince (*chacanus*) by their original route on account of the threatening barbarians, so that Theophilus requested the Emperor to speed them on their way. Louis investigated their nationality, and found them to be Swedes.[1] Further, Luidprand of Cremona, who was in Constantinople in 949, writes of the Byzantine capital that it is situated among dangerous neighbors, for at its north it is menaced by Huns, Pechenegs, Khazars, and *Rusii*, "whom we call Nordmanni [Normans]." The identification of *Rusii* with Normans is repeated in his subsequent account of Igor's foray of 942.[2]

Direct evidence that the language of the Russes was Scandinavian is provided by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*regn.* 944–959) in his account of the Rus trading-expeditions down the Dnieper to the Black Sea and Constantinople.[1] This treatise mentions Novgorod (Νεμογαρδάς), Svyatoslav son of Igor (Σφενδοσθλάβος ὁ υἱὸς Ἴγγωρ τοῦ ἄρχοντος Ῥωσίας), Smolensk (Μιλινίσκα), Chernigov (Τζερνιγώγα), Vyshegorod (Βουσιγραδέ) and the tribes of the Krivichians (Κριβιτιαιηνοί), and the Luchanians (Λενζανινοί).[2] It is, however, particularly valuable for its mention of the names of most of the cataracts of the Dnieper (a series of rapids south of its junction with the Samara, around which the Russes were obliged to portage their barks), both Ῥωσιστί and Σκλαβινιστί, *i. e.*, in Rus and in Slavic.[3]

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[1] "Venerunt autem legati Graecorum a Theophilo imperatore directi . . . quos imperator xv. kal. Iunii in Ingulenheim honorifice suscepit. . . . Misit [Theophilus] etiam cum eis quosdam qui se, id est gentem suam, Rhos uocari dicebant, quod rex illorum, chacanus uocabulo, ad se amicitiae, sicut asserebant, causa direxerat, petens per memoratam epistolam, quatenus benignitate imperatoris redeundi facultatem atque auxilium per imperium suum tuto habere possent, quoniam itinera, per quae ad illum Constantinopolim uenerant inter barbaras et nimiae feritatis gentes immanissimas habuerant, quibus eos, ne forte periculum inciderent, redire noluit. Quorum aduentus causam imperator diligentius inuestigans comperit eos gentis esse Sueonum."

[2] Luidprand, *Antapodosis*, I (ed. L. Becker, Hannover, 1915), 11: "Constantinopolitana urbs, quae prius Byzantium, Noua nunc dicitur Roma, inter ferocissimas gentes est constituta. Habet quippe ab aquilone Hungarios, Pizenacos, Chazaros, Rusios, quos alio nos nomine *Nordmannos* appellamus." *Ibid.*, V, 15: "Gens quadam est sub aquilonis parte constituta quam a qualitate corporis Greci vocant Rusios, nos vero a positione loci nominamus *Nordmannos*. Lingua quippe Teutonum *nord* aquilo *man* autem dicitur homo, unde et Nordmannos aquilonares homines dicere possumus. Huius denique gentis rex uocabulo Inger erat, qui collectis mille et eo amplius nauibus Constantinopolim uenit."

For the first fall, only one name is given, viz., Ἐσσουπῆ, which is translated both in Rus and in Slavic as "sleep not." This form corresponds roughly to OSl. *не съпи*, having the same meaning. It has also been suggested (Pipping, *op. cit.*, p. 21), that it would also correspond to an ON. *né sofi*. The second bears the Rus name Οὐλβορσί and the Slavic Ὀστροβουνὶ πράχ, translated into Greek as τὸ νησίον τοῦ φραγμοῦ. Thomsen (*op. cit.*, p. 55) proposes for the ON. form *Hólmfors* ("island fall"). The Slavic name reproduces exactly *островъный прагъ*, with the same meaning. Constantine even correctly reproduces an audible medial ъ, together with the OSl. form *prag* instead of Rus. *porog*. The third is named only in Rus as Γελανδρί, with the remark that it is translated into Slavic as ἦχος φραγμοῦ, without specific mention of the Slavic form. The Rus name appears to represent the ON. part. pres. *gjallandi*, meaning "the roaring [fall]," which has its counterpart in the modern Russian name *звонец* (cf. Pipping, *loc. cit.*, pp. 15, 16). The Rus name for the fourth is Ἀειφάρ or Ἀειφόρ· (Thomsen, *op. cit.*, p. 143), corresponding to a Slavic Νεασήτ. This fall is actually mentioned on a Runic inscription from Gotland as *Aifur* (Arne, *op. cit.*, p. 11). The name is variously interpreted as "ever-rushing" (ON. *eiforr*, Thomsen, *loc. cit.*), or as "impassible" (ON. *ei-fǿrr*, Pipping, *loc. cit.*, p. 12). Constantine remarks that it is so named "διότι φωλεύουσιν οἱ πελικάνοι εἰς τὰ λιθάρια τοῦ φραγμοῦ," which corresponds well enough to the OSl. *неясытъ* ("pelican"), though Thomsen (*op. cit.*, pp. 61, 62) rejects any connection of *Aifur* with a cognate of Neth. *ooievaar*, and considers that the term signifies only "insatiable." The fifth bears a Rus name which is transliterated into Greek as Βαρυφόρος, and is called in Slavic Βουλνηπράχ "because it makes great waves" ("*διότι μεγάλην δίνην ἀποτελεῖ*"; cf. Thomsen, *op. cit.*, p. 64). The ON. form would thus be *barufors* ("wave-fall") and the OSl. *вльньный прагъ* with the same meaning. The sixth is called in Rus *Λεαντί* and in Slavic Βερουτζή, translated by Constantine as *βρᾶσμα νεροῦ* ("boiling of water"). These names reproduce the ON. *hlaejandi*, "laughing," and OSl. *въpѫштиврущій* "twisting." Finally, the seventh is named in Rus as *Στρουβούν* and in Slavic as Ναπρεζή, translated *μικρὸς φραγμός*. Neither name has been as yet satisfactorily restored. For a summary of conjectures, cf. Niederle, *Slov. Star.*, I, iv, p. 110; Pipping, *loc. cit.*, pp. 4–6. Apart from the difficulties presented by the names of the seventh cataract, it is thus clear that Ῥωσιστί does not signify *Slavic*, but *Scandinavian*, as far as language is concerned.

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[1] *De administrando Imperio* ix., in *Corp. Script. Hist. Byz.*, IX, 74–79.

[2] The exact connotation of Λενζανινοί is a subject of dispute. Cf. G. Ilinski, ‘Кто были Λενζανινοί Константина Багрянородного," in *Slavia*, IV (Prague, 1925), 314–319.

[3] Cf. W. Thomsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 ff.; Niederle, *Slov. Star.*, I iv, 107–110; T. J. Arne, *La Suède et l'Orient* (Uppsala, 1914), p. 11; K. Muka, "Prohi Dnjepra a městne mjena z X l.," in *Časopis*, LXVIII (Prague, 1916), 84–89; H. Pipping, "De skandinaviska Dnjeprnamnen," in *Stud. i Nord. Filol.*, vol. II (Helsingfors, 1911), no. 5.

Two Byzantine sources of the tenth century, one of which is probably dependent upon the other, also class the Russes as belonging to the same race as the Franks.[1]

Corroborative evidence of intimate Scandinavian relations with Russia at an early period is also supplied by archaeological research and, in a restricted degree, by Scandinavian literary monuments. The oldest Swedish objects discovered on Russian soil date from the eighth century, and were unearthed in Courland, over which the Vikings early established their domination. Evidence has also been found of early Swedish settlements on the southwestern shore of Lake Ladoga during the first half of the ninth century, and about 900, a Swedish colony appears at Gnezdovo (near Smolensk).[2] Relics of the tenth century show the general prevalence of Swedish influence, which disappears again in the eleventh. The custom of erecting inscribed gravestones or cenotaphs became prevalent in Sweden only in the eleventh century, so that early survivals of Runic inscriptions mentioning Russia are comparatively rare.[3] One of the five such survivals has been mentioned in the previous discussion of the Rus names of the Dnieper cataracts. Two others (one of the early and one of the late eleventh century) remark the activities of Swedish adventurers in Russia, which is referred to as Garðar, the country of fortified towns. Of the two remaining, one, dating from the late eleventh century, mentions the death in Novgorod of a certain Sigviðr, while the other, of about 1100, is a monument to one Spialboði, who met his death in St Olaf's Church in Novgorod. In both instances, Novgorod bears the later familiar name of Hólmgarðr.

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[1] *Theophanis Continuati*, VI, 39 (*Corp. Script. Hist. Byz.*, XXXII, 423): "*Δεκάτης καὶ τετάρτης ἰνδικτιῶνος Ἰουνίῳ μηνὶ ἑνδεκάτῃ, κατέπλευσαν οἱ Ῥῶς κατὰ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως μετὰ πλοίων χιλιάδων δέκα, οἱ καὶ Δρομῖται λεγόμενοι, οἳ ἐκ γένους τῶν Φράγγων καθίστανται.*" Also Symeon Magister, *De Leone Basilii*, 14 (*ibid.*, p. 707). A. Krumbacher (*Byz. Litt.-gesch.*, pp. 124–126) remarks that Symeon used the former work as a source; hence the identity in terms of the two passages.

[2] Arne, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[3] F. Braune, "Das Historische Russland im Nordischen Schrifttum des X–XIV. Jhdts.," in *Festschrift für Eugen. Mogk* (Halle, 1924), pp. 163, 164.

The literary survivals[1] testifying to a traditional close relationship between Scandinavia and Russia are necessarily of much later date, and originate at a period when the memory of contact with Russia had been considerably obscured. The section of Scandinavia enjoying the closest relations with Russia was obviously Sweden, the culture of which evolved more slowly than was the case in either Norway or Denmark. The Swedes were, moreover, not exposed to the English and Irish influences which are of such moment for Icelandic and Norse intellectual development. The period to which archaeological evidence points for the southward expansion of Swedish communities along the Russian watercourses (ninth and tenth centuries) is precisely that in which, after Harald Harfagri's victory at Hafrsfjord (872), the migration toward Iceland set in, to continue until 930. Since the historical saga reached its zenith only around 1230, during the lifetime of Snorri Sturluson, while the romantic sagas in general do not appear before the middle of the thirteenth century, and since, at the same time, the relations between Scandinavia and Russia lost their intimate character after the death of Yaroslav in 1054, a sufficient period thus elapsed before the rise of Icelandic prose literature for recollections of Russia, regarding which practically all Icelandic information was based on hearsay, to take on an indistinct and confused aspect. It is therefore not surprising that but a few of the oldest Russian cities are mentioned at all in the sagas. Hólmgarðr (Novgorod), Kœnugarðr (Kiev), Aldeigjuborg (Ladoga), Palteskja (Polotzk), Móramar (Murom), Sursdal or Surdalar (Suzdal), Raþstofa (Rostov), Smoleskja (Smolensk), and Syrnes (probably Chernigov) practically exhaust the list.[2]

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[1] Cf. F. Braune, *op. cit.*, and S. H. Cross, "Yaroslav the Wise in Norse Tradition," in *Speculum*, IV (Cambridge, 1929), 177–197; also S. H. Cross, "La Tradition Islandaise de St Vladimir," forthcoming shortly in *Revue des Études Slaves* (Paris).

[2] The survival at a late date of precisely these names is in itself significant. Without exception, these cities lie on recognized trade-routes (Novgorod, Polotzk, Smolensk), or at the headwaters of the Volga and its tributaries (Rostov, Murom, Suzdal). They were thus familiar stages on the old trade-routes to the Orient and

Novgorod in the sagas also takes precedence over Kiev, though the latter had held the first rank since late in the ninth century. The principal literary evidences of direct Scandinavian contact with the Russian principate relate to the reigns of Vladimir I (972–1015) and of Yaroslav the Wise (1015–54). The traditions surrounding King Olaf Tryggvason describe the youthful prince as growing up at Vladimir's court at Novgorod. The facts underlying this narrative were, however, so remote that Olga, Vladimir's grandmother (she died, according to the *Povest*, in 969), is transformed into his consort with the name Allogia. The reign of Yaroslav is treated with interesting and more authentic detail in the *Heimskringla*, the *Fagrskinna*, the *Morkinskinna*, and the *Eymundarþáttr Hringssonar*. These accounts are of special moment for their preoccupation with Ingigerðr, Yaroslav's Swedish wife, and with St Olaf, his son Magnus, and with Harald Harðraði, subsequently the consort of Yaroslav's daughter Elisabeth.[1]

These reminiscences, however fragmentary, are sufficient to demonstrate that the contacts of even Norwegian princes with the Russian court of the tenth and the eleventh centuries were so intimate as not to allow the original Scandinavian affiliations of the Russian ruling house to lapse entirely into oblivion. Such accounts, however, while deserving further study, do not cast the same light on earlier Scandinavian contacts with Russia which is supplied by the results of archaeological research. The latter have established that an extensive commerce between Northern Russia and the districts south of the Caspian developed via the Volga River as early as the seventh century. Relics of Arabic commerce in Northern Russia are particularly common in the provinces at the headwaters of the Volga, and the most notable discoveries have been made in precisely those districts where the Scandinavian colonists were most active. The eastern limit of discovery for Scandinavian relics in Russia passes, in fact, southward through the provinces of Vyatka, Kazan, Saratov, and Voronezh. This early Arabic commerce with the North was unacquainted with the later route up the Dnieper from the Black Sea, which was not widely used until the decline of the Khazar power opened a direct road to Byzantium, as is clearly demonstrated by the fact that the earliest Byzantine coins found in Scandinavia (on the island of Björkö in Lake Maelar)

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the Black Sea. The emphasis on Novgorod rather than Kiev also points to the existence of a body of information which originated at the moment when Novgorod was the principal point of Scandinavian contact with the Eastern Slavic world.

[1] Cf. S. H. Cross, *Speculum*, IV, 177–197, and the texts there cited.

date only from the ninth century. That Scandinavian commerce through Russia was at first primarily concerned with the trans-Caspian Orient is also indicated by the presence of Scandinavian objects in Northern Russia from the late eighth century forward, though specifically Russian objects do not appear in Scandinavia before the eleventh century, in spite of the fact that objects of oriental origin are found in Sweden by the end of the ninth.[1]

The archaeological evidence of Scandinavian contact with Arabic traders via the Russian watercourses is corroborated by the Arab geographers, who also refer to the presence of Scandinavian centres of colonization in Northern Russia.

Arabic interest in geographical science developed rapidly from the ninth century forward, and by the eleventh, an extensive body of geographical literature had arisen which embodied considerable material concerning the northern area inhabited not only by the Slavs, but also by the Magyars, the Bulgars, the Khazars, and the various nomads of the steppes. One such account of the northern races with particular bearing on the identity of the Russes originated apparently in the work of Al Gaihānī, *Book of the Routes and Realms*, written shortly after 922, and derived jointly from an earlier lost work of Abū Muslim al Garmī (*fl.* 845) and from an extant book of the same name (*Kitāb al Masālik wa'l Mamālik*) by Ibn Khurdādhbih, dating from *ca.* 894.[2] This material appears with variations in the works of Ibn Rusta (tenth century), Al Bekrī (eleventh century), and Gurdēzī (eleventh century).[3] Further information on the same subject is contained in Mas'ūdī's *Gold Fields and Jewel Mines*, dating from 943. The testimony of the Arabic geographers is appreciably confused by the fact that very few of them possessed of first-hand information, and because they experienced some difficulty in distinguishing the Slavs from other light-complexioned peoples with whom they came in contact. To many of the Arabic geographers, the term *Ṣaqlāb* designated anyone of blond complexion, particularly of Northern European origin, and thus was applied at one time or another to the Volga Bulgarians, the Germans and the Saxons, the Hungarians, and the Varangians.[1] If this fact be borne in mind, the identification of the Russes with the Slavs in so important an author as Ibn Khurdādhbih is not so surprising.[2]

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[1] Arne, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–231.

[2] Marquart, *Streifzüge*, XXXI, 24–25, 160–206.

[3] For Ibn Rusta, cf. D. A. Khvolson, *Известия о Хазарах*, etc. (Leningrad, 1869). For Al Bekrī, cf. E. Kunik–A. Rosen, "Известия Ал-Бекри и других Авторов о Руси и Славянах" (Leningrad, 1878), in *Приложения к XXXII-ому Тому Записок Имп. Акад. Наук*, no. 2. F. Barthold, "Отчет о Поездке в Среднюю Азію," in *Записки Имп. Акад. Наук* (Leningrad, 1897), series 8, vol. I, no. 4.

On the other hand, a respectable body of Arabic information distinguishes the Russes from the Slavs within the confines of Russian territory. Ibn Rusta (Khvolson, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 35) locates the Rus centre of population on a marshy island in a northern lake, whence they make forays upon the Slavs, and sell their captives as slaves to the Khazars and the Bulgars. To this account, Gurdēzī adds (Barthold, *op. cit.*, p. 123) that the Russes constantly attack the country of the Slavs in companies of one or two hundred men, and seize by violence their useful property, remarking also that many Slavs have taken service with the Russes as a means of self-protection. The approximate location of the Russ settlements, viz., at the headwaters of the Volga, is indicated by the statement of Al Bekrī (Kunik–Rosen, *op. cit.*, p. 60) that the river Itil (Volga) flows from among the Russes, and empties into the Khazar (Caspian) Sea. In the Arabic writers, there is no reference whatever to the Russes in any connection with the Slavs of the Dnieper valley. Their trading activities at Bolgar are, however, amply attested by Ibn Rusta, who reports (Khvolson, *op. cit.*, p. 23): "The Khazars carry on trade with the Bulgars; likewise the Russes also bring to them their merchandise." Apart from slaves, the principal articles of Rus trade at Bolgar were sable, ermine, squirrel, and other furs. As is indicated by the frequent discoveries of Arabic coins (dating 745–900) in Northern Russia, this commerce was largely on a money basis, and we learn from Gurdēzī[3] that the inhabitants of the upper reaches of the Volga accepted nothing but coined money in payment for their wares. That the Russes did not originally speak Slavic is attested by the Jew Ibrāhīm ben Ya'qūb (*ca.* 965), who remarks that, though not a Slavic people, they were masters of certain Slavic territory and learned Slavic by virtue of their intimate contacts with the Slavs.[1]

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[1] Cf. F. Westberg, "К Анализу Воеточных Источников о Восточной Европе," in *Жур. Мин. Нар. Просв.*, N. S., XIII (Leningrad, 1908), 364–371.

[2] In De Goeje, *Bibl. Geograph. Arabe*, VI (Leyden, 1889), 15: "Les Russes qui appartiennent aux peuples slaves se rendent des régions les plus éloignées de Çaklaba (le pays des Slaves) vers la mer romaine, et y vendent des peaux de castor et de renard noir, ainsi que des épées."

[3] Quoted by Westberg, *Жур. Мин. Нар. Прос.*, N. S., XIV (1908), 25.

The description of the principal seat of the Russes given by Ibn Rusta (Khvolson, *op. cit.*, p. 34) is of special interest. "They are found," he declares, "on an island surrounded by a lake. The circumference of this island on which they live equals three days' journey. It is covered with woods and morasses. It is so unhealthy and damp that the ground, on account of the water absorbed in it, shakes whenever stamped upon." Gurdēzī adds (*op. cit.*, p. 123) that about 100,000 live upon this island. In the passage just cited, Ibn Rusta refers to the chief of the Russes as their *Khakan*, with which should be compared the reference of the *Annales Bertiniani* (839) to "rex illorum chacanus uocabulo" (*supra*, p. 123). This insular colony is readily identifiable with the Norse Hólmgarðr, the equivalent of Novgorod, so called, according to W. Thomsen, in consequence of its situation upon an island where the river Volkhov flows out of Lake Ilmen (*op. cit.*, p. 101). The chieftain, according to Gurdēzī (*op. cit.*, p. 123), collects a tithe from the merchants under his authority. The Russes practise no agriculture, but live from the products of the farm labor of the subjugated Slavs.

It has generally been conceded that the original source from which was derived the information relayed by Ibn Rusta, Al Bekrī, and Gurdēzī, was composed during the second quarter of the ninth century. It thus represents the situation at the headwaters of the Volga just before the Russes began their thrust southward along the Dnieper. The Russes are described as warriors and pirates of Viking character. Mas'ūdī, in fact, though confusing the Slavs and the Russes, remarks[2] that the latter are divided into many tribes, but that among them is one race known as Norwegians who are the most numerous, and who voyage with their merchandise to Spain, Italy, Constantinople, and Khazaria. Their Norman kinship is thus clearly recognized.

Combined literary and archaeological evidence not only produces a presumption in favor of the Scandinavian origin of the Russes, but also demonstrates that these Russes were established at the headwaters of the Volga considerably before 859, the date under which the *Povest* (p. 144) first mentions the Finnish and Slavic tribes of the north as tributaries of the Varangians. At the same time, the Arabic references to the systematic forays executed upon the unresisting Slavs suggest the nature of the process by which Varangian domination extended southward along the Dnieper toward the middle of the ninth century. The raids of the Russes around 850 were, in fact, not confined to the plains of the Dnieper basin, but actually extended across the Pontus into Paphlagonia. A report of such a raid carried out in the second quarter of the ninth century is preserved in the Greek *Life of St George of Amastris*, written prior to 842 and thus providing the earliest Byzantine record of the Russes.[1] Their southward movement toward the Crimea is apparently reflected in the Slavic *Life of St Stephen of Surož* (Sugdaea) by the account of a Russian raid from Novgorod which traversed the countryside from Kherson to Kerch, and captured Surož after a ten days' siege. The event took place shortly after St Stephen's death, therefore early in the ninth century.[2]

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[1] Quoted by Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 192.

[2] A. Harkavy, *Сказания Мусульманских Писателей* (Leningrad, 1870), p. 130.

We are therefore fully justified in rejecting the *Povest* tradition of the "calling of the princes" in favor of the conviction that the Russes, a Scandinavian clan of traders and fighters, had established themselves in Northern Russia before the beginning of the ninth century, and before 850 were already in contact with the Byzantine Empire. At the same time, however, the relations between the terms *Varangian* and *Rus* require some elucidation.

The origin of the name *Rus* (*Русь*, Greek 'Ρῶς, Arabic *aṛ Rūs*) is a matter of considerable dispute.[3] In general, the hypothesis of E. Kunik and W. Thomsen, which derives this appellation from the Finnish name for Sweden and the Swedes, has met with the widest acceptance. The Finnish appellation for Sweden is thus *Ruotsi*, and for Swedes *Ruotsalaiset*. This terminology is common to all Finnish dialects along the Gulf of Finland, and is commonly held to be derived from *Ro(d)slagen* (Kunik, *op. cit.*, p. 163), the name of the coast of the Swedish province of Upland, just opposite the Gulf of Finland. On the principle that "an intellectually or politically inferior people as a rule names a more powerful and more respected neighboring people after the nearest frontier tribe of the latter," T. E. Karsten still accepts this view,[1] though Thomsen (*op. cit.*, p. 95) has objected to it on the ground that *Roslagen* is of too recent origin. The Danish scholar points out (*ibid.*) that the territory now occupied by the modern Swedish provinces of Upland, Södermanland, and East Gotland was known in ancient times as *Roðer* or *Roðin*. It is precisely in this district that the Scandinavian proper names occurring in the Russo–Greek treaties of 912 and 945 are most prevalent (Thomsen, *op. cit.*, p. 72). Thomsen accordingly suggests that *Roðer* is probably derived from an original *roðsmenn* or *roðskarlar*, meaning "seafarers," "rowers," so that the Finns took this latter term to indicate nationality, and preserved only the first syllable of it in the forms *Ruotsi* and *Ruotsalaiset*. Thomsen remarks in this connection that when a compound word is adopted into Finnish from another language, it is not unusual to take only the first part of it.

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[1] V. Vasilievski, editor, in *Летопись Археографической Коммиссии*, IX (Leningrad, 1893), xli, cxvi ff., ccxcv, and particularly 66–67: "ἔφοδος ἦν βαρβάρων τῶν 'Ρῶς· ἔθνους, ὡς πάντες ἴσασιν, ὠμοτάτου καὶ ἀπηνοῦς καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιφερομένου φιλανθρωπίας λείψανον. Θηριώδεις τοῖς τρόποις, ἀπάνθρωποι τοῖς ἔργοις, αὐτῇ τῇ ὄψει τὴν μιαιφονίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, ἐπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων, ὧν πεφύκασιν ἄνθρωποι, χαίροντες ὡς ἐπὶ φονοκτονίᾳ. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ φθοροποιὸν καὶ πρᾶγμα καὶ ὄνομα, ἀπὸ τῆς Προποντίδος ἀρξάμενον τῆς λοίμης, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπινεμηθὲν παράλιον, ἔφθασεν καὶ μέχρι τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου πατρίδος, κόπτον ἀφειδῶς γένος ἅπαν καὶ ἡλικίαν πᾶσαν, οὐ πρεσβύτας οἰκτεῖρον, οὐ νήπια παρορῶν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάντων ὁμοῦ τὴν μιαίφονον ὁπλίζον χεῖρα, τὸν ὄλεθρον ἔσπευδεν διαβῆναι ὅση δύναμις."

[2] Vasilievski, *op. cit.*, p. 100: "по смерти же святаго мало лѣтъ миноу, пріиде рать велика роускаа изъ Новаграда князь Бравлинъ силенъ зѣлω. Плѣни отъ Корсоуня и до Корза. съ многою силою пріиде къ Сурожу. за 10 дьній биша злѣ межоу себе." For a discussion of the literature on this passage, which has provoked extensive comment, cf. Vasilievski's survey of the literature, pp. clii–clxvi.

[3] E. Kunik, *Die Berufung der Schwedischen Ruodsen durch die Finnen und Slaven* (Leningrad, 1844); also the article "Begannen die Russischen Handelsfahrten u.

In view of the fact that such Scandinavian raiders as first penetrated the territory occupied by Slavic tribes between Lake Ilmen and the headwaters of the Volga must on their way have traversed an area settled by Finns, it is highly probable that the Slavs borrowed their own name for these interlopers from their Finnish neighbors, exactly as the Romans adopted the name *Germani* for the Teutonic tribes from the Celts with whom they came in contact. The vowel-change from *uo* to *u* occurs similarly in the Russian *Сумъ*, derived from Finnish *Suomi*,[2] and *Русь* itself, as a feminine collective with *i*-stem, corresponds with the formation of several other similar Finnish tribal names appearing in Old Russian as *Ямъ*, *Весь*, *Чудь*, *Ливь*, and *Пермь*. In

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Raubzüge auf dem Schwarzen u. Caspischen Meere zur Zeit Mohammeds oder Ruriks?" in Dorn's *Caspia* (Leningrad, 1875), pp. 221–256. W. Thomsen, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

[1] *Die Germanen* (Berlin, 1928), p. 144.

[2] A. A. Shakhmatov, "Сказание о Призвании Варягов," in *Изв.*, IX (Leningrad, 1904), 340.

the last analysis, the etymology of the word *Ruotsi-Rus* is of comparatively slight importance. As Shakhmatov observes (*Изв.*, IX, 340), there is no doubt of the identity of the name *Rus* given the Scandinavians by the Slavs with the name *Ruotsi* which the Finns used to designate these same Scandinavians. A certain amount of difficulty is unfortunately introduced by the Greek form ʽΡῶς, which is used as an indeclinable masculine plural (*οἱ* ʽΡῶς, *τῶν* ʽΡῶς) and which contains an *ω* where *ου* would reasonably be expected. This word is not yet satisfactorily explained. Thomsen (*op. cit.*, p. 99) inclined to the belief that it reached the Greeks through the medium of some Turco–Tatar tribe, and thus probably through the Khazars, in view of the fact that in Byzantine Greek many Turco–Tatar words appear as indeclinables. Some considerable variation among ο, ω, and ου in such names is also apparent (Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 354). On the other hand, as Marquart remarks (*ibid.*), no Turkish word can begin with *r* or *l* (cf. Hungarian *Orosz*, "Russian"), so that the mediation of any Turco–Tatar language seems improbable.[1]

The name *Rus*, derived apparently from the Finnish appellation of raiders and colonists from eastern Sweden, thus applies in the *Povest* to the Scandinavian element which, after establishing itself at a strong point near Lake Ilmen, gradually imposed its authority over the scattered Slavic tribes of the whole Dnieper basin. This appellation, particularly after the arrival of Kiev at a position of dominance under Rus sovereignty, not only designated the ruling class, at first exclusively Scandinavian, but gradually came to include as well the subject Slavs, and thus superseded the old tribal nomenclature.

The interpretation of the original significance of the term *Rus* is to some extent complicated by its association with the name *Varangian* (*Варяги*, *Варязи*, Βάραγγοι, *Væringjar*). As already intimated (p. 137), *Varangian* is used in the earlier sections of the *Povest* as a generic term for the Germanic nations on the coasts of the Baltic, including Swedes, Goths, and Angles, as well as the Russes. On the other hand, since the *Povest* in four passages specifically refers to the Varangians "from beyond the sea" ("за море, за моря"), it may be concluded that those Varangians who migrated to Russia were regarded as exclusively Scandinavian. The Arabic geographer Al Bīrūnī (973–1038) also mentions the Baltic as the Varangian Sea, and specifies the Varangians as a people dwelling on its coasts.[1] The Arabs subsequently identified these Varangians with the Swedes.[2] There is reason to believe that the term *Varangian* was not known in Russia before the last half of the tenth century, when it came into use there as applied to the Scandinavian warriors who took service either with the Russian princes or with the Byzantine emperors, and distinguished the latter from the old line of Scandinavian colonists who, by 1000, must have been well russified. The time limits within which the term *Varangian* was in common use in Russia may be determined with relative accuracy. In the first place, it does not occur in any of the treaties with Byzantium, showing that as a *terminus technicus* it was certainly unknown as late as 945. Furthermore, its last appearance in the *Povest* occurs in 1037, and it is therefore clear that the word was not in common use at Kiev after the reign of Yaroslav. The Norse equivalent *Væringjar* is by no means a word of such common occurrence as to indicate that it was in everyday use even in the heyday of Scandinavian relations with the Near East. The earliest Scandinavian to take service in Byzantium was apparently Þorkell Þjóstarsson, who spent some seven years about 950 in travel and adventure and, as he expressed it, was a vassal of the king of Miklagarðr ("em handgenginn Garðskonunginum").[3] The first datable use of the word in Norse literature appears to occur in the *Geisli* of the skald Einarr Skularson, delivered in 1153. The institution of the Varangian guard was apparently well established by 1000, since we find an Icelander, Kolskeggr Hámundarson, commanding it about that date.[4] In the Byzantine sources, while mention is made of Russes in the imperial service as early as 1016 (Cedrenus, II, 465), it is not until 1034 that the Βάραγγοι are specifically mentioned, and in that instance only as in garrison in the Thracesian theme (*ibid.*, pp. 508, 509). In the main, however, the term *Varangian* seems very clearly to have made its first appearance, not in Scandinavia or in Russia, but in Byzantium itself, where the name was introduced to designate a function. It was therefore not brought to Russia from Scandinavia, but, from the fact that it was applied in Byzantium to Norse adventurers who took service there, was extended in Russia to apply to Scandinavian warriors journeying to and from Constantinople or even in the Russian service. Since the term *Rus*, by the beginning of the twelfth century, had long since lost all Scandinavian connotation, the designation of these adventurers was very naturally extended to their country of origin, so that *Varangian*, to a Russian of the last half of the eleventh century, meant simply Scandinavian, and the Russes, whose Scandinavian extraction was only a matter of legend, were classed as a subdivision of the Varangians.[1] While the available evidence thus leads to a rejection of the naïve *Povest* tradition of the "calling of the princes," it indicates with equal emphasis that the dominant class in the formative period of the early Russian state was composed of the Scandinavian warrior-merchants who, early in the ninth century, made their way to the south and east along the Russian watercourses in search of commercial contacts with the Orient and with Byzantium.

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[1] Efforts have been made to connect ʽΡῶς with the Iranian name of the Volga, *Raha = ʽΡᾶ in Ptolemy (so F. Knauer, *О происхождении имени Русь*, Moscow, 1901), ʽΡῶς in Agathemerus (*Arriani Periplus* [ed. A. Hoffmann, Leipzig, 1842], p. 367), Mordvin *Rawś*. While the alleged connection of ʽΡῶς with the Biblical רֹאשׁ in *Ezekiel*, xxxviii, 2 and xxxix, 1 was criticized by G. F. Mueller as early as 1760 (*Sammlung Russischer Geschichte*, V, 390 ff.), it is considered not improbable by Marquart (*op. cit.*, p. 355) and has lately been revived once more by V. A. Brim, "Происхождение Термина Русь," in *Россия и Запад*, I (Leningrad, 1923); cf. V. Parkhomenko, in *Изв.*, XXVIII (Leningrad, 1924), 71 ff.

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[1] C. M. Frähn, *Ibn Foszlans und anderer Berichte über die Russen* (Leningrad, 1823), pp. 177–179, 182, 183.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 196, 197.

[3] *Hrafnkelssaga Freysgoða* (Reykjavík, 1911), p. 16.

[4] *Njalssaga* (Reykjavík, 1910), p. 185: "Kolskeggr tók skírn í Danmörku, enn nam þar þó eigi yndi ok fór austr í Garðaríki, ok var þar einn vetr. Þá fór hann þaðan út í Miklagarð, ok gekk þar á mála. Spurðist þat til hans, at hann kvangaðist þar ok var höfðingi fyrir Væringjarliði, ok var þar til dauðadags." The extant text of this saga is, however, not older than 1250.

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[1] The word *Væringjar* itself is conventionally regarded as of Norse origin, cognate with Old-English *wǣrgenga*, "one who seeks protection, a stranger," and thus derived from ON. *várar*, "solemn vow, oath," and *ganga*. An unexplained difficulty lies in the fact that the Slavic, Greek, and Arabic forms all point without exception to an unumlauted original, though in such cases *i*-umlaut is supposed to have taken place in ON. before A.D. 700 (A. Noreen, *Altisl. u. Altnord. Gram.* [4th ed., Halle, 1923], pp. 61 ff.). The query may therefore be put forward whether the derivation of the word should not rather be sought in its connection with Med. Lat. *vargus*, *varganeus* (see Ducange, s. vv.) and an initial corruption of *vagrans vagrantes* to **vargans vargantes*, later transformed by popular etymology in the Germanic dialects to the extant forms now usually accepted as primitives. I purpose to return to this topic in a later study.

THE RUSSIAN PRIMARY CHRONICLE

LAURENTIAN TEXT

NOTE. The pages of the latest diplomatic text of the *Povest* (ed. E. F. Karski, in *П.С.Р.Л.*, I [2d ed., Leningrad, 1926] and referred to in the Introduction as L^2) are indicated in brackets in the translation below.

These are the narratives of bygone years regarding the origin of the land of Rus, who first began to rule in Kiev, and from what source the land of Rus had its beginning.

Let us accordingly begin this narrative. After the flood, the sons of Noah (Shem, Ham, and Japheth) divided the earth among them. To the lot of Shem fell the orient, and his share extended lengthwise as far as India and breadthwise (*i. e.*, from east to south) as far as Rhinocolura, including Persia and Bactria, as well as Syria, Media (which lies beside the Euphrates River), Babylon, Cordyna, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Arabia the Ancient, Elymais, India, Arabia the Mighty, Coelesyria, Commagene, and all Phoenicia.

To the lot of Ham fell the southern region, comprising Egypt, Ethiopia facing toward India, the other [2] Ethiopia out of which the red Ethiopian river flows to the eastward, the Thebaid, Libya as far as Cyrene, Marmaris, Syrtis, Numidia, Massyris, and Mauretania over against Cadiz. Among the regions of the orient, Ham also received Cilicia, Pamphylia, Mysia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, Camalia, Lycia, Caria, Lydia, the rest of Moesia, Troas, Aeolia, Bithynia, and ancient Phrygia. He likewise acquired the islands of Sardinia, Crete, and Cyprus, and the river Gihon, called the Nile.

[3] To the lot of Japheth fell the northern and the western sections, including Media, Albania, Armenia (both little and great), Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Colchis, Bospore, Maeotis, Dervis, Sarmatia, Tauria, Scythia, Thrace, Macedonia, Dalmatia, Molossia, Thessaly, Locris, Pellene (which is also called the Peloponnese), Arcadia, Epirus, Illyria, the Slavs, Lychnitis, Adriaca, and the Adriatic Sea. He received also the islands of Britain, Sicily, Euboea, Rhodes, Chios, Lesbos, Cythera, Zacynthus, Cephallenia, Ithaca, and Corcyra, as well as a portion of the land of Asia called Ionia, the river Tigris flowing between the Medes and Babylon, and the territory to the north extending as far as the Pontus and including the Danube, the Dniester, and the Caucasian Mountains, which are called Hungarian,

and thence even to the Dnieper. [4] He likewise acquired dominion over other rivers, among them the Desna, the Pripet, the Dvina, the Volkhov, and the Volga, which flows eastward into the portion of Shem.

In the share of Japheth lie Rus, Chud, and all the gentiles: Merya, Muroma, Ves, Mordva, Chud beyond the hills, Perm, Pechera, Yam, Ugra, Litva, Zimegola, Kors, Setgola, and Lyub. The Lyakhs, the Prussians, and Chud border on the Varangian Sea. The Varangians dwell on the shores of that same sea, and extend to the eastward as far as the portion of Shem. They likewise live to the west beside this sea as far as the land of the Angles and the Italians. For the following nations also are a part of the race of Japheth: the Varangians, the Swedes, the Normans, the Russes, the Angles, the Gauls, the Italians, the Romans, the Germans, the Carlings, the Venetians, the Genoese, and so on. Their homes are situated in the northwest, and adjoin the Hamitic tribes.

[5] Thus Shem, Ham, and Japheth divided the earth among them, and after casting lots, so that none might encroach upon his brother's share, they lived each in his appointed portion. There was but one language, and as men multiplied throughout the earth, they planned, in the days of Yoktan and Peleg, to build a tower as high as heaven itself. Thus they gathered together in the plain of Shinar to build the tower and the city of Babylon round about it. But they wrought upon the tower for forty years, and it was unfinished. Then the Lord God descended to look upon the city and the tower, and said, "This race is one, and their tongue is one." So the Lord confused the tongues, and after dividing the people into seventy-two races, he scattered them over the whole world. After the confusion of the tongues, God overthrew the tower with a great wind, and the ruin of it lies between Assur and Babylon. In height and in breadth it is 5433 cubits, and the ruin was preserved for many years.

After the destruction of the tower and the division of the nations, the sons of Shem occupied the eastern regions, the sons of Ham those of the south, and the sons of Japheth the western and the northern lands. Among these seventy-two nations, the Slavic race is derived from the line of Japheth, since they are the Noricians, who are identical with the Slavs.

For many years the Slavs lived beside the Danube, where the Hungarian and Bulgarian lands now lie. From among these Slavs, [6] parties scattered throughout the country and were known by appropriate names, according to the places where they settled. Thus some came and settled by the river Morava, and were named Moravians, while others were called Czechs. Among these same Slavs are included the White Croats, the Serbs, and the Khorutanians. For when the Vlakhs attacked the Danubian Slavs, settled among them, and did them violence, the latter came and made their homes by the Vistula, and were then called Lyakhs. Of these same Lyakhs some were called Polyanians, some Lutichians, some Mazovians, and still others Pomorians. Certain Slavs settled also on the Dnieper, and were likewise called Polyanians. Still others were named Derevlians, because they lived in the forests. Some also lived between the Pripet and the Dvina, and were known as Dregovichians. Other tribes resided along the Dvina and were called Polotians on account of a small stream called the Polota, which flows into the Dvina. It was from this same stream that they were named Polotians. The Slavs also dwelt about Lake Ilmen, and were known there by their appropriate name. They built a city which they called Novgorod. Still others had their homes along the Desna, the Sem, and the Sula, and were called Severians. Thus the Slavic race was divided, and its language was known as Slavic.

[7] When the Polyanians lived by themselves among the hills, a trade-route connected the Varangians with the Greeks. Starting from Greece, this route proceeds along the Dnieper, above which a portage leads to the Lovat. By following the Lovat, the great lake Ilmen is reached. The river Volkhov flows out of this lake and enters the great lake Nevo. The mouth of this lake opens into the Varangian Sea. Over this sea goes the route to Rome, and on from Rome overseas to Tsargrad. The Pontus, into which flows the river Dnieper, may be reached from that point. The Dnieper itself rises in the upland forest, and flows southward. The Dvina has its source in this same forest, but flows northward and empties into the Varangian Sea. The Volga rises in this same forest, but flows to the east, and discharges through seventeen mouths into the Caspian Sea. It is possible by this route to the eastward to reach the Bulgars and the Caspians, and thus attain the region of Shem. Along the Dvina runs the route to the Varangians, whence one may reach Rome, and go on from there to the race of Ham. But the Dnieper flows through various mouths into the Pontus. This sea, beside which taught St Andrew, Peter's brother, is called the Russian Sea.

When Andrew was teaching in Sinope and came to [8] Kherson (as has been recounted elsewhere), he observed that the mouth of the Dnieper was near by. Conceiving a desire to go to Rome, he thus went to the mouth of the Dnieper. Thence he ascended the river, and by chance he halted beneath the hills upon the shore. Upon arising in the morning, he observed to the disciples who were with him, "See ye these hills? So shall the favor of God shine upon them that on this spot a great city shall arise, and God shall erect many churches therein." He drew near the hills, and having blessed them, he set up a cross. After offering his prayer to God, he descended from the hill on which Kiev was subsequently built, and continued his journey up the Dnieper.

He then reached the Slavs at the point where Novgorod is now situated. He saw these people existing according to their customs, and on observing how they bathed and drenched themselves, he wondered at them. He went thence among the Varangians and came to Rome, where he recounted what he had learned and observed. "Wondrous to relate," said he, "I saw the land of the Slavs, and while I was among them, I noticed their wooden bathhouses. They warm them to extreme heat, then undress, and after anointing themselves with tallow, they take young reeds and lash their bodies. They actually lash themselves so violently that they barely escape alive. Then they drench themselves with cold water, and thus are revived. They think nothing of doing this [9] every day, and actually inflict such voluntary torture upon themselves. They make of the act not a mere washing but a veritable torment." When his hearers learned this fact, they marveled. But Andrew, after his stay in Rome, returned to Sinope.

The Polyanians lived apart and governed their families, for thus far they were brethren, and each one lived with his gens on his own lands, ruling over his kinsfolk. There were three brothers, Kii, Shchek, and Khoriv, and their sister was named Lybed. Kii lived upon the hill where the Borich trail now is, and Shchek dwelt upon the hill now named Shchekovitza, while on the third resided Khoriv, after whom this hill is named Khorevitza. They built a town and named it Kiev after their oldest brother. Around the town lay a wood and a great pine-forest in which they used to catch wild beasts. These men were wise and prudent; they were called Polyanians, and there are Polyanians descended from them living in Kiev to this day.

Some ignorant persons have claimed that Kii was a ferryman, for near Kiev there was [10] at that time a ferry from the other side of the river, in consequence of which people used to say, "To Kii's ferry." Now if Kii had been a mere ferryman, he would never have gone to Tsargrad. He was then the chief of his kin, and it is related what great honor he received from the Emperor when he went to visit him. On his homeward journey, he arrived at the Danube. The place pleased him, and he built a small town, wishing to dwell there with his kinsfolk. But those who lived near by would not grant him this privilege. Yet even now the dwellers by the Danube call this town Kievetz. When Kii returned to Kiev, his native city, he ended his life there; and his brothers Shchek and Khoriv, as well as their sister Lybed, died there also.

After the deaths of these three brothers, their gens assumed the supremacy among the Polyanians. The Derevlians possessed a principality of their own, as did also the Dregovichians, while the Slavs had their own authority in Novgorod, and another principality existed on the Polota, where the Polotians dwell. Beyond them reside the Krivichians, who live at the head waters of the Volga, the Dvina, and the Dnieper, and whose city is Smolensk. It is there that the Krivichians dwell; and beyond them are the Severians. At Byelo–Ozero are situated the Ves, and on the lake of Rostov, the Merya, [11] and on Lake Kleshchino the Merya also. Along the river Oka (which flows into the Volga), Muroma, the Cheremisians, and Mordva preserve their native languages. For the Slavic race in Rus includes only the Polyanians, the Derevlians, the people of Novgorod, the Polotians, the Dregovichians, the Severians, and the Buzhians, who live along the river Bug and were later called Volhynians. The following are other tribes which pay tribute to Rus: Chud, Merya, Ves, Muroma, Cheremis, Mordva, Perm, Pechera, Yam, Litva, Zimegola, Kors, Narva, and Liv. These tribes have their own languages and belong to the race of Japheth, which inhabits the lands of the north.

Now while the Slavs dwelt along the Danube, as we have said, there came from among the Scythians, that is, from the Khazars, a people called Bulgars, who settled on the Danube and oppressed the Slavs. Afterward came the White Huns, who inherited the Slavic country. For these Huns first appeared in the reign of the Emperor Heraclius, who campaigned against Chosroes, the Emperor of Persia. The Avars, who attacked Heraclius the Emperor and nearly captured him, also lived at this period. They made war upon the Slavs, [12] and harassed the Dulebians, who were themselves Slavs. They even did violence to the Dulebian women. When an Avar made a journey, he did not cause either a horse or a steer to be harnessed, but gave command instead that three or four or five women should be yoked to his cart and be made to draw him. Even thus they harassed the Dulebians. The Avars were large of stature and proud of spirit, and God destroyed them. They all perished, and not one Avar survived. There is to this day a proverb in Rus which runs, "They perished like the Avars." Neither race nor heir of them remains. The Pechenegs came after them; and the Black Huns passed by Kiev later during the time of Olga.

Thus the Polyanians, who belonged to the Slavic race, lived apart, as we have said, and called themselves Polyanians. The Derevlians, who are likewise Slavs, lived by themselves and adopted this tribal name. But the Radimichians and the Vyatichians sprang from the Lyakhs. There were in fact among the Lyakhs two brothers, one named Radim and the other Vyatko. Radim settled on the Sozh, where the people are known as Radimichians, and Vyatko with his family settled on the Oka. The people there were named Vyatichians after him. Thus the Polyanians, the Derevlians, the Severians, the Radimichians, the Vyatichians, and the Croats lived at peace. [13] The Dulebians dwelt along the Bug, where the Volhynians now are found, but the Ulichians and the Tivercians lived by the Dniester, and extended as far as the Danube. There was a multitude of them, for they inhabited the banks of the Dniester almost down to the sea, and to this day there are cities in that locality which still belong to them. Hence they are called Great Scythia by the Greeks.

These Slavic tribes preserved their own customs, the law of their forefathers, and their traditions, each observing their individual usages. For the Polyanians retained the mild and peaceful customs of their ancestors, and showed respect for their daughters-in-law and their sisters, as well as for their mothers and fathers. For their mothers-in-law and their brothers-in-law they also entertained great reverence. They observed a fixed marriage custom, under which the groom's brother did not fetch the bride, but she was brought to the bridegroom in the evening, and on the next morning his gifts were presented.

The Derevlians, on the other hand, existed in bestial fashion, and lived like cattle. They killed one another, ate every impure thing, and there was no marriage among them, but instead they seized upon maidens by capture. The Radimichians, the Vyatichians, and the

Severians had the same customs. They lived in the forest like any wild beast, and ate every unclean thing. They spoke obscenely [14] before their fathers and their daughters-in-law. There were no marriages among them, but simply festivals among the villages. When the people gathered together for games, for dancing, and for all other devilish amusements, the men on these occasions carried off wives for themselves, and each took any woman with whom he had arrived at an understanding. Whenever a death occurred, a feast was held over the corpse, and then a great pyre was constructed, on which the deceased was laid and burned. After the bones were collected, they were placed in a small urn and set upon a post by the roadside, even as the Vyatichians do to this day. Such customs were observed by the Krivichians and the other pagans, since they did not know the law of God, but made a law unto themselves.

Georgius says in his *Chronicle*: "Among all the nations, there are some that possess a written law, while others simply observe certain fixed customs; for, among those devoid of law, their ancestral usage is accepted in its stead. To this class belong the Seres, who live at the end of the world, and apply as law the customs of their ancestors, which forbid them to commit adultery or incest, to steal, to bear false witness, to kill, or to do any wrong whatsoever.

"The law of the Bactrians, called [15] Brahmans or Islanders, which is derived from forefatherly prescription, prohibits them for reasons of piety from eating meat, drinking wine, committing adultery, or doing any sort of wrong, solely in consequence of religious scruple. But among the Indians, who dwell beside them, are found murderers, criminals, and doers of violence beyond all nature. In the most remote portion of their country, they practise cannibalism and kill travelers, and, what is worse still, they devour them like dogs.

"The Chaldaeans and the Babylonians have a different code, which allows them to marry their mothers, to commit carnal sin with their nieces, and to commit murder. They regard every shameless deed as a virtue when they commit it, even when they are far from their own country.

"The Gelaeans maintain other customs: among them, the women plough, build houses, and perform men's work. But they indulge in vice to the extent of their desire, for they are by no means restrained by their husbands, nor do the latter at all concern themselves about the matter. There are among them bold women who are capable of capturing wild beasts by virtue of their strength. The women have control over their husbands and rule them.

"In Britain, many men sleep with one woman, [16] and likewise many women have intercourse with one man. The people carry on without jealousy or restraint the vicious customs of their ancestors.

"The Amazons have no husbands, but like brute beasts they are filled with desire once each year in the springtime, and come together with the neighboring men. This season seems to them, as it were, a time of celebration and great festival. When they are with child by these men, the women all depart thence. When they give birth to children and a male is born, they kill it; but if the child is of the female sex, then they nurse it and bring it up carefully."

Just so, even in our own day, the Polovcians maintain the customs of their ancestors in the shedding of blood and in glorifying themselves for such deeds, as well as in eating every dead or unclean thing, even hamsters and marmots. They have intercourse with their mothers-in-law and their sisters-in-law, and observe other usages of their ancestors. But in all countries we Christians who believe in the Holy Trinity, in one baptism, and in one faith, have but one law inasmuch as we have been baptized in the Lord and have put on Christ.

After this time, and subsequent to the death of the three brothers in Kiev, the Polyanians were oppressed by the Derevlians, other neighbors [17] of theirs. Then the Khazars came upon them as they lived in the hills and forests, and demanded tribute from them. After consulting among themselves, the Polyanians paid tribute of a sword from each hearth. The Khazars bore the tribute to their prince and their elders, and said to them, "Behold, we have found new tribute." When asked whence it was derived, they replied, "From the forest on the hills by the river Dnieper." The elders inquired what tribute had been paid, whereupon the swords were exhibited. The Khazar elders then protested, "Evil is this tribute, prince. We have won it with a one-edged weapon called a sabre, but the weapon of these men is sharp on both edges and is called a sword. These men shall impose tribute upon us and upon other lands." All this has come to pass, for they spoke thus, not of their own will, but by God's commandment. The outcome was the same in the time of Pharaoh, King of Egypt, when Moses was led before him, and the elders of Pharaoh foretold that he should subjugate Egypt. For the Egyptians perished at the hand of Moses, though the Jews were previously their slaves. Just as the Egyptians ruled supreme, but were themselves subsequently ruled over, so it has also come to pass that the Russes rule over the Khazars even to this day.

In the year 6360 (852), the fifteenth of the indiction, at the accession of the Emperor Michael, the land of Rus was first named. We have determined this date from the fact that in the reign of this Emperor Russes attacked Tsargrad, as is written in the Greek Chronicle. Hence we shall begin at this point [18] and record the dates. Thus from Adam to the Flood, 2242 years elapsed; from the Flood to Abraham, 1082 years; from Abraham to the Mosaic Exodus, 430 years; from the Mosaic Exodus to David, 601 years; from David and the beginning of the reign of Solomon to the captivity of Jerusalem, 448 years; from the captivity to Alexander, 318 years; from Alexander to the birth of Christ, 313 years; from the birth of Christ to Constantine, 318 years; and from Constantine to Michael, 542 years. Twenty-nine years passed between the first year of Michael's reign and the accession of Oleg, Prince of Rus. From the accession of Oleg, when he took up his residence in Kiev, to the first year of Igor's principate, thirty-one years elapsed. Thirty-three years passed between Igor's accession and that of Svyatoslav. From the accession of Svyatoslav to that of Yaropolk, twenty-eight years passed. Yaropolk ruled eight years, Vladimir thirty-seven years, and Yaroslav forty years. Thus from the death of Svyatoslav to the death of Yaroslav eighty-five years elapsed, while sixty years separate the death of Yaroslav from that of Svyatopolk. But we shall now return to the subject, recounting what occurred during this period (for we set our beginning at the first year of Michael's reign), and we shall record the dates in order.

6361–6366 (853–858). [19] Michael the Emperor went forth with an army by land and sea against the Bulgarians. The latter, on catching sight of his armament, offered no resistance, and asked leave to be baptized and to submit themselves to the Greeks. The Emperor baptized their prince with all his warriors, and made peace with the Bulgarians.

6367 (859). The Varangians from beyond the sea imposed tribute upon the Chuds, the Slavs, the Merians, the Ves, and the Krivichians. But the Khazars imposed it upon the Polyanians, the Severians, and the Vyatichians, and collected a squirrel-skin and a beaver-skin from each hearth.

6368–6370 (860–862). The tributaries of the Varangians drove them back beyond the sea and, refusing them further tribute, set out to govern themselves. There was no law among them, but tribe rose against tribe. Discord thus ensued among them, and they began to war one against another. They said to themselves, "Let us seek a prince who may rule over us, and judge us according to the law." They accordingly went overseas to the Varangian Russes: these particular Varangians were known as Russes, just as some are called Swedes, and others Normans, Angles, and Goths, for they were thus named. The Chuds, the Slavs, [20] and the Krivichians then said to the people of Rus, "Our whole land is great and rich, but there is no order in it. Come to rule and reign over us." They thus selected three brothers, with their kinsfolk, who took with them all the Russes and migrated. The oldest, Rurik, located himself in Novgorod; the second, Sineus, in Byeloozero; and the third, Truvor, in Izborsk. On account of these Varangians, the district of Novgorod became known as the land of Rus. The present inhabitants of Novgorod are descended from the Varangian race, but aforetime they were Slavs.

After two years, Sineus and his brother Truvor died, and Rurik assumed the sole authority. He assigned cities to his followers, Polotzk to one, Rostov to another, and to another Byeloozero. In these cities there are thus Varangian colonists, but the first settlers were, in Novgorod, Slavs; in Polotzk, Krivichians; at Byeloozero, Ves; in Rostov, Merians; and in Murom, Muromians. Rurik had dominion over all these districts.

With Rurik there were two men who did not belong to his kin, but were boyars. They obtained permission to go to Tsargrad with their families. They thus sailed down the Dnieper, and in the course of their journey they saw a small city on a hill. Upon their inquiry as to whose town it was, they were informed that [21] three brothers, Kii, Shchek, and Khoriv, had once built the city, but that since their deaths, their descendants were living there as tributaries of the Khazars. Oskold and Dir remained in this city, and after gathering together many Varangians, they established their domination over the country of the Polyanians at the same time that Rurik was ruling at Novgorod.

6371–6374 (863–866). Oskold and Dir attacked the Greeks during the fourteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Michael. When the Emperor had set forth against the Saracens and had arrived at the Black River, the eparch sent him word that the Russes were approaching Tsargrad, and the Emperor turned back. Upon arriving inside the strait, the Russes made a great massacre of the Christians, and attacked

Tsargrad in two hundred boats. The Emperor succeeded with difficulty in entering the city. The people prayed all night with the Patriarch Photius at the Church of the Holy Virgin in Blachernae. They also sang hymns and carried the sacred vestment of the Virgin to dip it in the sea. The weather was still, and the sea was calm, but a storm of wind came up, and when great waves straightway rose, confusing the boats of the godless Russes, it threw them upon the shore [22] and broke them up, so that few escaped such destruction. The survivors then returned to their native land.

6375–6376 (867–868). Basil began his reign.

6377 (869). The entire nation of the Bulgarians accepted baptism.

6378–6387 (870–879). On his deathbed, Rurik bequeathed his realm to Oleg, who belonged to his kin, and entrusted to Oleg's hands his son Igor, for he was very young.

[6388–6390 (880–882). Oleg set forth, taking with him many warriors from among the Varangians, the Chuds, the Slavs, the Merians, and the [23] Krivichians. He thus arrived with his Krivichians before Smolensk, took the city, and set up a garrison there. Thence he went on and captured Lyubech, where he also established a garrison. He then came to the hills of Kiev, and saw how Oskold and Dir reigned there. He hid his warriors in the boats, left some others behind, and went forward himself bearing the child Igor. He thus came to the foot of the Hunnish hill, and after concealing his troops, he sent messengers to Oskold and Dir, representing himself as a stranger on his way to Greece on an errand for Oleg and for Igor, the prince's son, and requesting that they should come forth to greet them as members of their race. Oskold and Dir straightway came forth. Then all the soldiery jumped out of the boats, and Oleg said to Oskold and Dir, "You are not princes nor even of princely stock, but I am of princely birth." Igor was then brought forward, and Oleg announced that he was the son of Rurik. They killed Oskold and Dir, and after carrying them to the hill, they buried them there, on the hill now known as Hunnish, where the castle of Olma stands. Over that tomb Olma built a church dedicated to St Nicholas, but Dir's tomb is behind St Irene's. Oleg set himself up as prince in Kiev, and declared that it should be the mother of Russian cities. Varangians and Slavs accompanied him, and his retainers were called Russes. Oleg began to build stockaded towns, and [24] imposed tribute on the Slavs, the Krivichians, and the Merians. He commanded that Novgorod should pay the Varangians tribute to the amount of 300 *grivni* a year for the preservation of peace. This tribute was paid to the Varangians until the death of Yaroslav.

6391 (883). Oleg began military operations against the Derevlians, and after conquering them, he imposed upon them the tribute of a black marten-skin apiece.

6392 (884). Oleg attacked the Severians, and conquered them. He imposed a light tribute upon them and forbade their further payment of tribute to the Khazars, on the ground that there was no reason for them to pay it as long as the Khazars were his enemies.

6393 (885). Oleg sent messengers to the Radimichians to inquire to whom they paid tribute. Upon their reply that they paid tribute to the Khazars, he directed them to render it to himself instead, and they accordingly paid him a shilling apiece, the same amount that they had paid the Khazars. Thus Oleg established his authority over the Polyanians, the Derevlians, the Severians, and the Radimichians, but he waged war with the Uluchians and the Tivercians.

6394–6395 (886–887). Leo, Basil's son (called Lev by us), became Emperor. He called to the throne his brother Alexander, and they ruled together twenty-six years.

[25] 6396–6406 (888–898). The Huns passed by Kiev over the hill now called Hunnish, and on arriving at the Dnieper, they pitched camp. They were nomads like the Polovcians. Coming out of the east, they struggled across the great mountains, and began to fight against the Vlakhs and the Slavs in that region. For the Slavs had settled there first, but the Vlakhs had seized the territory of the Slavs. The Huns subsequently expelled the Vlakhs, took their land, and settled among the Slavs, whom they reduced to submission. From that time this territory was called Hungarian. The Huns made war upon the Greeks, and seized the Frankish and Macedonian territory as far as Salonika. They also attacked the Moravians and the Czechs.

There was at the time but one Slavic race including the Slavs who settled along the Danube and were subjugated by the Huns, as well as the Moravians, the Czechs, the Lyakhs, and the Polyanians, [26] the last of whom are now called Russes. It was for these peoples that Moravian books were first written. They are also termed Slavic writing. This writing exists also in Rus and among the Danubian Bulgarians. When the Moravian Slavs and their princes were living in baptism, the Princes Rostislav, Svyatopolk, and Kotzel sent messengers to the Emperor Michael, saying, "Our nation is baptized, and yet we have no teacher to direct and instruct us and interpret the sacred scriptures. We understand neither Greek nor Latin. Some teach us one thing and some another. Furthermore, we do not understand written characters nor their meaning. Therefore send us teachers who can make known to us the words of the scriptures and their sense." The Emperor Michael, upon hearing their request, called together all the scholars, and reported to them the message of the Slavic princes. The scholars suggested that there was a man in Salonika, by name Leo, who had two sons familiar with the Slavic tongue, being learned men as well. When the Emperor was thus informed, he immediately summoned the sons of Leo from Salonika, directing him to send to court forthwith his sons Methodius and Constantine. Upon receipt of this message, Leo quickly sent forth his sons. When they came before the Emperor, he made known to them that the Slavs had communicated to him their desire for teachers who could interpret the holy scriptures to them. The Emperor prevailed [27] upon them to undertake the mission, and sent them into the Slavic country to Rostislav, Svyatopolk, and Kotzel. When they arrived, they undertook to compose a Slavic alphabet, and translated the Acts and the Gospel. The Slavs rejoiced to hear the greatness of God extolled in their native tongue. The apostles afterward translated the Psalter, the ritual, and other books.

Now some zealots began to condemn the Slavic books, contending that it was not right for any other nation to have its own alphabet apart from the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Latins, according to Pilate's superscription, which he composed for the Lord's Cross. When the Pope at Rome heard of this situation, he rebuked those who murmured against the Slavic books, saying, "Let the word of the Scripture be fulfilled that 'all nations shall praise God (*Luke*, xxiii, 38),' and likewise that 'all nations shall declare the majesty of God according as the Holy Spirit shall grant them to speak (*John*, xix, 20).' Whosoever condemns the Slavic writing shall be excluded from the Church until he mend his ways. For such men are not sheep but wolves; by their fruits ye shall know them and guard against them. Children of God, hearken unto his teachings, and depart not from the ecclesiastical rule which Methodius your teacher has appointed unto you." Constantine then returned again, and went to instruct the people of Bulgaria; [28] but Methodius remained in Moravia.

Prince Kotzel appointed Methodius Bishop of Pannonia in the see of St Andronicus, one of the Seventy, a disciple of the holy Apostle Paul. Methodius chose two priests who were very rapid writers, and translated the whole Scriptures in full from Greek into Slavic in six months between March and the twenty-sixth day of October. After completing the task, he appropriately rendered praise and honor to God, who had bestowed such a blessing upon Bishop Methodius, the successor of Andronicus. Now Andronicus is the apostle of the Slavic race. He traveled among the Moravians, and the Apostle Paul taught there likewise. For in that region is Illyricum, whither Paul first repaired and where the Slavs originally lived. Thus Paul is the teacher of the Slavic race, and from this race we Russians too are sprung. The Apostle Paul is similarly the teacher of us Russians, since he preached to the Slavic race, and appointed Andronicus as Bishop and successor to himself among them. But the Slavs and the Russes are one people, for it is because of the Varangians that the latter became known as Rus, though originally they were Slavs. While some Slavs were termed Polyanians, their nationality was still Slavic, for they were known as Polyanians [29] because they lived in the fields. Thus the Slavic race was one.

6407–6410 (899–902). The Emperor Leo incited the Huns against the Bulgarians, so that they attacked and subjugated the whole Bulgarian country. When Symeon heard this news, he turned upon the Huns, who attacked him and conquered the Bulgarians so that Symeon took refuge in Silistria.

6411 (903). As Igor grew up, he followed after Oleg, and obeyed his instruction. A wife, Olga by name, was brought to him from Pskov.

6412–6415 (904–907). Leaving Igor in Kiev, Oleg attacked the Greeks. He took with him a multitude of Varangians, Slavs, Chuds, Krivichians, Merians, Polyanians, Severians, Derevlians, Radimichians, Croats, Dulebians, and Tivercians, who are Torks. All these tribes are known as Great Scythia by the Greeks. With this entire force, Oleg sallied forth by horse and by ship, and the number of his vessels was two thousand. [30] He arrived before Tsargrad, but the Greeks fortified the strait and closed up the city. Oleg disembarked upon the shore, and ordered his soldiery to beach the ships. They waged war around the city, and accomplished much slaughter of the Greeks. They also destroyed many palaces and burned the churches. Of the prisoners they captured, some they beheaded, some they tortured, some they shot, and still others they cast into the sea. The

Russes inflicted many other woes upon the Greeks after the usual manner of soldiers. Oleg commanded his warriors to make wheels which they attached to the ships, and when the wind was favorable, they spread the sails and bore down upon the city from the open country. When the Greeks beheld this, they were afraid, and sending messengers to Oleg, they implored him not to destroy the city and offered to submit to such tribute as he should desire. Thus Oleg halted his troops. The Greeks then brought out to him food and wine, but he would not accept it, for it was mixed with poison. Then the Greeks were terrified, and exclaimed, "This is not Oleg, but St Demetrius, whom God has sent upon us." So Oleg demanded that they pay tribute for his two thousand ships at the rate of twelve *grivni* per man, with forty men reckoned to a ship.

The Greeks assented to these terms and prayed for peace lest Oleg should conquer the land of Greece. Retiring thus a short distance from the city, Oleg concluded a peace with the Greek Emperors Leo and Alexander, and sent into the city to them [31] Karl, Farulf, Vermund, Hrollaf, and Steinvith, with instructions to receive the tribute. The Greeks promised to satisfy their requirements. Oleg demanded that they should give to the troops on the two thousand ships twelve *grivni* per bench, and pay in addition the sums required for the various Russian cities: first Kiev, then Chernigov, Pereyaslavl, Polotzk, Rostov, Lyubech, and the other towns. In these cities lived princes subject to Oleg.

The Russes proposed the following terms: "The Russes who come hither shall receive as much grain as they require. Whosoever come as merchants shall receive supplies for six months, including bread, wine, meat, fish, and fruit. Baths shall be prepared for them in any volume they require. When the Russes return homeward, they shall receive from your Emperor food, anchors, cordage, and sails, and whatever else is needful for the journey." The Greeks accepted these stipulations, and the Emperors and all the courtiers declared: "If Russes come hither without merchandise, they shall receive no provisions. Your prince shall personally lay injunction upon such Russes as journey hither that they shall do no violence in the towns and throughout our territory. Such Russes as arrive here shall dwell in the St Mamas quarter. Our government will send officers to record their names, and they shall then receive their monthly allowance, first the natives of Kiev, then those from Chernigov, Pereyaslavl, and the other cities. They shall not enter the city save through one gate, unarmed and fifty at a time, escorted by soldiers of the Emperor. They may purchase wares according to their requirements and tax-free."

[32] Thus the Emperors Leo and Alexander made peace with Oleg, and after agreeing upon the tribute and mutually binding themselves by oath, they kissed the cross, and invited Oleg and his men to swear an oath likewise. According to the religion of the Russes, the latter swore by their weapons and by their god Perun, as well as by Volos, the god of cattle, and thus confirmed the treaty.

Oleg gave orders that silken sails should be made for the Russes and linen ones for the Slavs, and his demand was satisfied. The Russes hung their shields upon the gates as a sign of victory, and Oleg then departed from Tsargrad. The Russes unfurled their silken sails and the Slavs their sails of linen, but the wind tore them. Then the Slavs said, "Let us keep our canvas ones; linen sails are not made for the Slavs." So Oleg came to Kiev, bearing palls, gold, fruit, and wine, along with every sort of adornment. The people called Oleg "the Sage," for they were but pagans, and therefore ignorant.

6416–6419 (908–911). A great star appeared in the west in the form of a spear.

6420 (912). Oleg despatched his vassals to make peace and to draw up a treaty between the Greeks and the Russes. His envoys thus made declaration:

"We of the [33] Rus nation: Karl, Ingjald, Farulf, Vermund, Hrollaf, Gunnar, Harold, Karni, Frithleif, Hroarr, Angantyr, Throand, Leithulf, Fast, and Steinvith, are sent by Oleg, Great Prince of Rus, and by all the glorious boyars under his sway, unto you, Leo and Alexander and Constantine, great Autocrats in God, Emperors of the Greeks, for the maintenance and proclamation of the long-standing amity which joins Greeks and Russes, in accordance with the desire of our Great Princes and at their command, and in behalf of all those Russes who are subject to the hand of our Prince.

"Our serenity, above all desirous, through God's help, of maintaining and proclaiming such amicable relations as now exist between Christians and Russians, has often deemed it proper to publish and confirm this amity not merely in words but also in writing and under a firm oath sworn upon our weapons according to our religion and our law. As we previously agreed in the name of God's peace and amity, the articles of this convention are as follows:

"First, that we shall conclude a peace with you Greeks, and love each other with all our heart and will, and as far as lies in our power, prevent any subject of our serene Princes from committing any crime or misdemeanor. Rather shall we exert ourselves as far as possible to maintain as irrevocable and immutable henceforth and forever the amity thus proclaimed by our agreement with you Greeks and ratified by signature and oath. May you Greeks on your part maintain as irrevocable and [34] immutable henceforth and forever this same amity toward our serene Princes of Rus and toward all the subjects of our serene Prince.

"In the matter of stipulations concerning damage, we subscribe to the following provisions:

"If clear proofs exist, there shall be a true declaration of such proofs. But if no credence attach to such declaration, the dissenting party shall take oath to this effect, and after he shall have taken oath according to his faith, a penalty shall be assessed in proportion to the trespass committed.

"Whatsoever Russ kills a Christian, or whatsoever Christian kills a Russ shall die, since he has committed murder. If any man flee after committing a murder, in the case that he is well-to-do, the nearest relative of the victim shall receive a legal portion of the culprit's property, while the wife of the victim shall receive a like amount, which is legally due her. But if the defendant is poor and has escaped, he shall be under distress until he returns or until he dies.

"If any man strike another with a sword or assault him with any other sort of weapon, he shall, according to Russian law, pay five pounds of silver for such blow or assault. If the defendant is poor, he shall pay as much as he is able, and be deprived even of the very clothes he wears, and he shall also declare upon oath that he has no one to aid him. Thereafter the case against him shall be withdrawn.

"If any Russ commit a theft against a Christian, [35] or *vice versa*, and should the transgressor be caught in the act by the victim of the loss, in case the culprit is killed in the process of committing the theft, no penalty shall be exacted for his death by either Greeks or Russes. The victim of the loss shall recover the stolen property. If the thief surrenders, he shall be taken and bound by the one upon whom the theft was committed, and the culprit shall return whatever he has dared to appropriate, making at the same time threefold restitution for it.

"If, on the pretext of instituting a search, any person, whether Greek or Russ, employs abusive treatment or violence and appropriates some article by force, he shall repay three times its value.

"If a ship is detained by high winds upon a foreign shore, and one of us Russes is near by, the ship with its cargo shall be revictualed and sent on to Christian territory. We will pilot it through every dangerous passage until it arrives at a place of safety. But if any such ship thus detained by storm or by some terrestrial obstacle cannot possibly reach its destination, we Russes will extend aid to the crew of this ship, and conduct them with their merchandise in all security, in case such an event takes place near Greek territory. But if such an accident befalls near the Russian shore, the ship's cargo shall be disposed of, and we Russes will remove whatever can be disposed of for the account of the owners. Then, when we proceed to Greece with merchandise or upon an embassy to your Emperor, we shall render up honorably the price of the sold [36] cargo of the ship. But if anyone on that ship is killed or maltreated by us Russes, or if any object is stolen, then those who have committed such acts shall be subject to the aforesaid penalty.

"From this time forth, if a prisoner of either nation is in durance either of the Russes or of the Greeks, and then sold into another country, any Russ or Greek who happens to be in that locality shall purchase the prisoner and return the person thus purchased to his own native country. The purchaser shall be indemnified for the amount thus expended, or else the value of the prisoner's daily labor shall be reckoned toward the purchase money. If any Russ be taken prisoner by the Greeks, he shall likewise be sent back to his native land, and his purchase price shall be repaid, as has been stipulated, according to his value.

"Whenever you find it necessary to declare war, or when you are conducting a campaign, providing any Russes desirous of honoring your Emperor come at any time and wish to remain in his service, they shall be permitted in this respect to act according to their desire.

"If a Russian prisoner from any region is sold among the Christians, or if any Christian prisoner is sold among the Russes, he shall be ransomed for twenty bezants and returned to his native land.

"In case a Russian slave is stolen or escapes or is sold under compulsion, and if a Russ institutes a claim to this effect which is substantiated, the slave shall be returned to Rus. If a merchant loses a slave and institutes a complaint, he shall search for this slave until he is found, but if any person refuses to allow him to make this search, the local officer shall forfeit his right of perquisition.

"With respect to the Russes professionally engaged in Greece under the orders of [37] the Christian Emperor, if any one of them dies without setting his property in order and has no kinsfolk there, his estate shall be returned to his surviving relatives in Rus. But if he makes some disposition of his goods, the person whom he has designated in writing as his heir shall receive the property of which he thus disposed. This shall be the due process of inheritance in the cases of Russes engaging in trade, of casual travelers in Greece, and of those having debts outstanding there.

"If a criminal takes refuge in Greece, the Russes shall make complaint to the Christian Empire, and such criminal shall be arrested and returned to Rus regardless of his protests. The Russes shall perform the same service for the Greeks whenever the occasion arises.

"As a convention and an inviolable pledge binding equally upon you Greeks and upon us Russes, we have caused the present treaty to be transcribed in the handwriting of Ivan upon a double parchment, bearing your Emperor's and our own signatures, to be promulgated and handed to our envoys in the name of the Holy Cross and the Holy and Indivisible Trinity of your one true God. According to our own faith and the custom of our nation, we have sworn to your Emperor, who rules over you by the grace of God, that we will neither violate ourselves, nor allow any of our subjects to violate the peace and amity assured by the articles thus concluded between us. We have also given to your government an identic document for the mutual ratification of the same convention in order to confirm and promulgate the treaty thus concluded between us this second of September, in the year of Creation 6420 (912)."

The Emperor Leo honored the Russian envoys with gifts [38] of gold, palls, and robes, and placed his vassals at their disposition to show them the beauties of the churches, the golden palace, and the riches contained therein. They thus showed the Russes much gold and many palls and jewels, together with the relics of our Lord's Passion: the crown, the nails, and the purple robe, as well as the bones of the Saints. They also instructed the Russes in their faith, and expounded to them the true belief. Thus the Emperor dismissed them to their native land with great honor. The envoys sent by Oleg returned to Kiev, and reported to him all the utterances of both Emperors. They recounted how they had made peace and established a covenant between Greece and Rus, confirmed by oaths inviolable for the subjects of both countries.

Thus Oleg ruled in Kiev, and dwelt at peace with all nations.

Now autumn came, and Oleg bethought him of his horse that he had caused to be well fed, yet had never mounted. For on one occasion he had made inquiry of the wonder-working magicians as to the ultimate cause of his death. One magician replied, "Oh Prince, it is from the steed which you love and on which you ride that you shall meet your death." Oleg then reflected and determined never to mount this horse or even to look upon it again. So he gave command that the horse should be properly fed, but never led into his presence. He thus let several years pass until he had attacked the Greeks. After he returned to Kiev, four years elapsed, but in the fifth he thought of the horse through which the magicians had foretold that he should meet his death. He thus summoned his senior squire and inquired as to the whereabouts of the horse which he had ordered to be fed and well cared for. [39] The squire answered that he was dead. Oleg laughed and mocked the magician, exclaiming, "Soothsayers tell untruths, and their words are naught but falsehood. This horse is dead, but I am still alive."

Then he commanded that a horse should be saddled. "Let me see his bones," said he. He rode to the place where the bare bones and the skull lay. Dismounting from his horse, he laughed and remarked, "Am I to receive my death from this skull?" And he stamped upon the skull with his foot. But a serpent crawled forth from it and bit him in the foot, so that in consequence he sickened and died. All the people mourned for him in great grief. They bore him away and buried him upon the hill which is called Shchekovitza. His tomb stands there to this day, and it is called the Tomb of Oleg.

It is remarkable what may be accomplished through witchcraft and enchantment. During the reign of Domitian, there lived a certain soothsayer named Apollonius of Tyana. He attained celebrity, and journeyed about performing infernal marvels throughout the cities and towns. From Rome he came to Byzantium, and on being besought of the inhabitants to accomplish this wonder, he drove out a multitude of serpents and scorpions from the city, so that no man should be wounded by them. He also tamed horses of violent temper before the assembled nobles.

He came likewise to Antioch, and on being besought by the inhabitants (since Antioch was tormented with scorpions [40] and gnats), he made a brass scorpion and buried it in the earth. After setting a small marble post over it, he bade the inhabitants hold reeds in their hands and walk through the city shaking the reeds and crying, "May this city be rid of gnats!" Thus the gnats and the scorpions vanished from the city. When he was questioned regarding the earthquakes that threatened the city, he sighed, and wrote on a tablet these words, "Alas for thee, unhappy city! Thou shalt fall a prey to flame, and this river Orontes shall bewail thee by its shores."

Of this magician, the great Anastasius of the City of God remarked, "Even to this day the enchantments of Apollonius remain effective, some for the elimination of four-footed beasts or of birds capable of harming mankind, and others for the control of beds of rivers flowing in unfixed channels, while still others are eminently effective against disease and injury to man." Not only during his life did the demons at his command bring such wonders to pass, but even after his death they hover about his tomb and perform miracles in his name to deceive unhappy men, who are much inclined to such error through the influence of the devil.

What has someone said about those who perform works of magic? That a certain man was so skilled in magical deception that he ridiculed Apollonius the Sage on the ground that he did not cultivate true [41] philosophical knowledge. "He ought," he asserted, "like me to accomplish his desires by means of a single word, and should not execute his devices by material means." All these things exist through the sufferance of God and the agency of the devil, that by such means our orthodox faith may be tested as to whether it is firm and secure, cleaving to the Lord and not to be seduced by the Enemy through false miracles and satanic acts performed by the servants and slaves of his wickedness. Some have even prophesied in the name of the Lord, like Balaam and Saul and Caiaphas, and have driven out the devil like Jude and the sons of Sceva (*Acts*, xix, 14–15). For the Lord often gives grace to the unworthy that he may bear witness for others. Thus Balaam was far from both life and faith, yet in him the Lord gave evidence of grace that other men might behold it. Pharaoh was such a one; but to him the Lord showed the future. There was Nebuchadnezzar also, who sinned against the law. To him the Lord revealed what was to occur after many generations, thus showing that many who have a hostile heart perform miracles according to the example of Christ, yet by other means, to deceive men who do not understand good works. Such were Simon the Magician and [42] Menander. Of such men it has truly been said, "Be not deceived by miracles."

6421 (913). Igor succeeded Oleg and began his reign. At the same time began the reign of Constantine, son of Leo and son-in-law of Romanus. The Derevlians declared war on Igor after Oleg's death.

6422 (914). Igor attacked the Derevlians, and after conquering them, he imposed upon them a tribute larger than Oleg's. In the same year, Symeon of Bulgaria attacked Tsargrad, and when peace was made, he returned to his own country.

6423 (915). The Pechenegs attacked the land of Rus for the first time, but when they had made peace with Igor, they went their way to the Danube. At this time, Symeon subjugated Thrace, and the Greeks summoned the Pechenegs to aid them. When the Pechenegs arrived and wished to attack Symeon, the Greek generals quarreled. The Pechenegs, on seeing how they were quarreling among themselves, returned homeward, but the Bulgarians came to blows with the Greeks, and the Greeks were cut to pieces. Symeon took Adrianople, which was first called the city of Orestes, son of Agamemnon, who in ancient times was cured of a disease by bathing in three rivers, and then named the city after himself on this account. Subsequently the Emperor Hadrian restored [43] it, and named it Adrianople for himself; but we call it Adreangrad.

6424–6428 (916–920). Romanus was set up as Emperor in Greece. Igor waged war against the Pechenegs.][1]

6429–6437 (921–929). Symeon attacked Tsargrad, ravaged Thrace and Macedonia, and presumptuously appeared with a large force before Tsargrad. He then made peace with the Emperor Romanus, and returned into his own country.

6438–6442 (930–934). The Huns attacked Tsargrad for the first time, and ravaged the whole of Thrace. Romanus made peace with them.

[44] 6443–6449 (935–941). Igor attacked the Greeks, and the Bulgarians sent word to the Emperor that the Russes were advancing upon Tsargrad with ten thousand vessels. The Russes set out across the sea,

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[1] The passage in brackets beginning with 6388 (880), is lacking in the Laurentian text, and therefore restored from the Hypatian text as having probably belonged to the original *Povest.*

and began to ravage Bithynia. They waged war along the Pontus as far as Heraclea and Paphlagonia, and laid waste the entire region of Nicomedia, burning everything along the gulf. Of the people they captured, some they butchered, others they set up as targets and shot at, some they seized upon, and after binding their hands behind their backs, they drove iron nails through their heads. Many sacred churches they gave to the flames, while they burned many monasteries and villages, and took no little booty on both sides of the sea. Then, when the army came out of the east, Pamphilus the Domestic with forty thousand men, Phocas the Patrician with the Macedonians, and Theodore the General with the Thracians, supported by other illustrious nobles, surrounded the Russes. After taking counsel, the latter threw themselves upon the Greeks, and as the conflict between them was desperate, the Greeks experienced difficulty in winning the upper hand. The Russes returned at evening to their companions, embarked at night upon their vessels, and fled away. Theophanes pursued them in boats with Greek fire, and dropped it through pipes upon the Russian ships, so that a strange miracle was offered to view.

The Russes, upon seeing the flames, cast themselves into the seawater, being anxious to escape, [45] but the survivors returned home. When they came once more to their native land, where each one recounted to his kinsfolk the course of events and described the fire launched from the ships, they related that the Greeks had in their possession the lightning from heaven, and had set them on fire by pouring it forth, so that the Russes could not conquer them. Upon his return, Igor began to collect a great army, and sent many messengers after the Varangians beyond the sea, inviting them to attack the Greeks, for he desired to make war upon them.

6450 (942). Symeon attacked the Croats and was beaten by them. He then died, leaving Peter his son as Prince of the Bulgarians.

Svyatoslav, son of Igor, was born.

6451 (943). When the Huns had attacked Tsargrad, they returned homeward after they had made peace with Romanus.

6452 (944). After collecting many warriors among the Varangians, the Russes, the Polyanians, the Slavs, the Krivichians, the Tivercians, and the Pechenegs, and receiving hostages from them, Igor advanced upon the Greeks by ship and by horse, thirsting for revenge. The Khersonians, upon hearing of this expedition, reported to Romanus that the Russes were advancing with innumerable ships and covered the sea with their vessels. Likewise the Bulgarians sent tidings to the effect that the Russes were on the way, and that they had won the Pechenegs for their allies. When the Emperor heard this news, he sent to Igor his best boyars to entreat him to come no nearer, but rather to accept the tribute which Oleg had received, and to the amount of which something should even be added. He likewise sent palls and much gold to the Pechenegs.

Now Igor, when he came to the Danube, called together his retinue, and after some reflection communicated to them the Emperor's offer. [46] Igor's retinue then replied, "If the Emperor speaks thus, what do we desire beyond receiving gold, silver, and palls without having to fight for them? Who knows who will be victorious, we or he? Who has the sea for his ally? For we are not marching by land, but through the depths of the sea. Death lies in wait for us all." Igor heeded them, and bade the Pechenegs ravage Bulgaria. He himself, after receiving from the Greeks gold and palls sufficient for his whole army, returned again and came to Kiev in his native land.

6453 (945). Romanus, Constantine, and Stephen sent envoys to Igor to renew the previous treaty, and Igor discussed the matter with them. Igor sent his own envoys to Romanus, and the Emperor called together his boyars and his nobles. The Russian envoys were introduced and bidden to speak, and it was commanded that the remarks of both parties should be inscribed upon parchment like the previous agreement existing under Romanus, Constantine, and Stephen, the most Christian princes.

"We are the envoys from the Russian nation: Ivar, envoy of Igor, Great Prince of Rus, and the general envoys as follows: Vefast representing Svyatoslav, son of Igor; Isgaut for the Princess Olga; Slothi for Igor, nephew of Igor; Oleif for Vladislav; Kanitzar for Predslava; Sigbjorn for Svanhild, wife of Oleif; Freystein for Thorth; Leif for Arfast; Grim for Sverki; Freystein for Haakon, nephew of Igor; Kari for Stoething; Karlsefni for Thorth; Hegri for Erling; Voikov*; Eistr for Amund; [47] Freystein for Bjorn; Yatving for Gunnar; Sigfrid for Halfdan; Koll for Klakki; Steggi for Jotun; Sverki; Hallvarth for Guthi; Frothi for Throand; Munthor for Ut*; the merchants Authun, Authulf, Ingivald, Oleif, Frutan*, Gamal, Kussi, Heming, Thorfrid, Thorstein, Bruni, Hroald, Gunnfast, Freystein, Ingjald, Thorbjorn, Manni, Hroald, Svein, Styr, Halfdan, Tirr, Askbrand, Visleif, Sveinki Borich*: sent by Igor, Great Prince of Rus, and from each prince and all the people of the land of Rus, by whom is ordained the renewal of the former peace to the confusion of the devil, who hates peace and loves discord, and to the establishment of concord between Greeks and Russes for many years to come.

"Our Great Prince Igor, and his boyars, and the whole people of Rus have sent us to Romanus, Constantine, and Stephen, the mighty Emperors of Greece, to establish a bond of friendship with the Emperors themselves, as well as with all their boyars and the entire Greek nation henceforth and forever, as long as the sun shines and the world stands fixed. If any inhabitant of the land of Rus thinks to violate this amity, may such of these transgressors as have adopted the Christian faith incur condign punishment from Almighty God in the shape of damnation and destruction forevermore. If any of these transgressors be not baptized, may they receive help neither from God nor from Perun; [48] may they not be protected by their own shields, but may they rather be slain by their own swords, laid low by their own arrows or by any of their own weapons, and may they be in bondage forever.

[*The Greeks stipulated:*] "The Great Prince of Rus and his boyars shall send to Greece to the great Greek Emperors as many ships as they desire with their agents and merchants, according to the prevailing usage. The agents have hitherto carried gold seals, and the merchants silver ones. But your Prince has now made known that he will forward a certificate to our government, and any agents or merchants thus sent by the Russians shall be provided with such a certificate to the effect that a given number of ships has been despatched. By this means we shall be assured that they come with peaceful intent.

"But if such persons come uncertificated and are surrendered to us, we shall detain and hold them until we notify your Prince. If they do not surrender, but offer resistance, they shall be killed, and indemnity for their death shall not be exacted by your Prince. If, however, they flee to Rus, we shall so inform your Prince, and he shall deal with them as he sees fit.

"If Russes come without merchandise, they shall not be entitled to receive monthly allowances. Your Prince shall moreover prohibit his agents and such other Russes as come hither from the commission of violence in our villages and territory. Such Russes as come hither shall dwell by St Mamas's Church. Our authorities shall note their names, and they shall then receive their monthly allowance, [49] the agents the amount proper to their position, and the merchants the usual amount: first, those from the city of Kiev, then those from Chernigov and Pereyaslavl. They shall enter the city through one gate in groups of fifty without weapons, and shall dispose of their merchandise as they require, after which they shall depart. An officer of our government shall guard them, in order that, if any Russ or Greek does wrong, he may redress it.

"When the Russes enter the city, they shall not have the right to buy silk above the value of fifty bezants. Whoever purchases such silks shall exhibit them to the imperial officer, who will stamp and return them. When the Russes depart hence, they shall receive from us as many provisions as they require for the journey, and what they need for their ships (as has been previously determined), and they shall return home in safety. They shall not have the privilege of wintering in the St Mamas quarter.

"If any slave runs away from Rus and flees into the territory of our Empire, or escapes from the St Mamas quarter, he shall be apprehended if he be in Greek territory. If he is not found, the Christian Russes shall so swear according to their faith, and the non-Christians after their custom, and they shall then receive from us their due, two pieces of silk per slave, according to previous stipulations. If, among the people of our Empire, whether from our city or elsewhere, any slave of ours escapes [50] among you and takes anything with him, the Russes shall send him back again. If what he has appropriated is intact, the finder shall receive two bezants from its value.

"If any Russ attempts to commit theft upon subjects of our Empire, he who so acts shall be severely punished, and he shall pay double the value of what he has stolen. If a Greek so transgress against a Russ, he shall receive the same punishment that the latter would suffer for a like offence. If a Russ commits a theft upon a Greek, or a Greek upon a Russ, he must return not only the stolen article, but also its value. If the stolen article is found to have been sold, he shall return double the price, and also shall be punished both by Greek law and custom and by the law of the Russes.

"If the Russes bring in young men or grown girls who have been taken as prisoners from our dominions, the Greeks shall pay a ransom of ten bezants each and recover the captives. If the latter are of middle age, the Greeks shall recover them on payment of eight bezants each. But in the case that the captives are old persons or young children, the ransom shall be five bezants. If any Russes are found laboring as slaves in Greece, providing they are prisoners of war, the Russes shall ransom them for ten bezants each. But if a Greek has actually purchased any such prisoner, and so declares under oath, he shall receive in return the full purchase price paid for the prisoner.

"In the matter of the country of Kherson and all the cities in that region, the Prince of Rus shall not have the right [51] to harass these localities, nor shall that district be subject to you. If the Prince of Rus calls on us for soldiers wherewith to wage war, we agree to supply him with any number required.

"In case the Russes find a Greek ship cast ashore, they shall not harm it, and if any person remove any object therefrom, or enslave a member of the crew, or kill him, he shall be amenable to both Russian and Greek law. If Russian subjects meet with Khersonian fishermen at the mouth of the Dnieper, they shall not harm them in any wise. The Russes shall, moreover, not have the right to winter at the mouth of the Dnieper, either at Byelobereg or by St Eleutherius, but when autumn comes, they shall return home to Rus. Regarding the Black Bulgarians, who come and ravage the Kherson district, we enjoin the Prince of Rus not to allow them to injure that region.

"If any crime is committed by a Greek subject to our Empire, the Russes shall not have the right to punish him, but according to the legislation of our Empire, he shall suffer in proportion to his misdeed.

"If a Christian kill a Russ, or a Russ a Christian, he who has committed the murder shall be held by the relatives of the deceased that they may kill him. If he who has committed murder runs away and escapes, the relatives of the murdered man shall receive the murderer's property in the case that he is wealthy. But if the escaped culprit is poor, he shall be pursued [52] till found, and when he is found, he shall be executed.

"If a Russ assault a Greek, or a Greek a Russ, with sword, spear, or any other weapon, he who has committed this crime shall pay five pounds of silver according to the Russian law, but if he is poor, all his available property shall be sold, even to the garments he walks in, and these too shall be taken from him. Finally he shall swear upon his faith that he has no possessions, and then he shall be released.

"If our government shall desire of you military assistance for use against our adversaries, they shall communicate with your Great Prince, and he shall send us as many soldiers as we require. From this fact, other countries shall learn what amity the Greeks and the Russes entertain toward each other.

"By common consent, we have thus inscribed all this convention upon a double parchment, one portion of which remains in the hands of our government, with a cross and our names subscribed thereon, while your merchants and agents have signed the other. Your representatives shall go forth with the envoys of our government and conduct them before Igor, Great Prince of Rus, and to his subjects. Upon receipt of this document, they shall then bind themselves by oath to observe the truth as agreed upon between us and inscribed upon this parchment, wherein our names are written."

[*The Russes thus bound themselves:*] "Those of us who are baptized have sworn in the Cathedral, by the Church of St Elias, upon the Holy Cross set before us, and upon this parchment, to abide by all that is written herein, and not to violate [53] any of its stipulations. May whosoever of our compatriots, Prince or common, baptized or unbaptized, who does so violate them, have no succor from God, but may he be a slave in this life and in the life to come, and may he perish by his own arms.

"The unbaptized Russes shall lay down their shields, their naked swords, their armlets, and their other weapons, and shall swear to all that is inscribed upon this parchment, to be faithfully observed forever by Igor, all his boyars, and all the people from the land of Rus. If any of the princes or any Russian subject, whether Christian or non-Christian, violates the terms of this instrument, he shall merit death by his own weapons, and be accursed of God and of Perun because he violated his oath. So be it good that the Great Prince Igor shall rightly maintain these friendly relations that they may never be interrupted, as long as the sun shines and the world endures henceforth and forevermore."

The agents sent by Igor returned to him with the Greek envoys, and reported all the words of the Emperor Romanus. Then Igor called the Greek envoys before him, and bade them report what injunction the Emperor had laid upon them. The Emperor's envoys replied, "The Emperor has sent us. He loves peace, and desires to maintain concord and amity with the Prince of Rus. Your envoys have received the pledge of our Emperors, and they have sent us to receive your oath and that of your followers." Igor promised to comply with their request.

[54] In the morning, Igor summoned the envoys, and went to a hill on which there was a statue of Perun. The Russes laid down their weapons, their shields, and their gold ornaments, and Igor and his

people took oath (at least, such as were pagans), while the Christian Russes took oath in the Church of St Elias, which is by the stream, in the vicinity of the place Pasynetz and of the Khazars. This was, in fact, a cathedral church, since many of the Varangians were Christians.

Igor, after confirming the treaty with the Greeks, dismissed their envoys, bestowing upon them furs, slaves, and wax, and sent them away. The envoys then returned to the Emperor, and reported all the words of Igor and his affection for the Greeks. Thus Igor began to rule in Kiev, enjoying peaceful relations with all nations. But when autumn came, he thought of the Derevlians, and wished to collect from them a still larger tribute.

6453 (945). In this year, Igor's retinue said to him, "The servants of Sveinald are adorned with weapons and fine raiment, but we are naked. Go forth with us, oh Prince, after tribute, that both you and we may profit thereby." Igor heeded their words, and he attacked Dereva in search of tribute. He demanded the previous tribute, and collected it by violence from the people with the assistance of his followers. After thus gathering the tribute, he returned to his city. On his homeward way, he said to his followers, after some reflection, "Go forward with the tribute. I shall turn back, and rejoin you later." He dismissed his retainers on their journey homeward, but being desirous of still greater booty, he returned on his tracks with a few of his vassals.

The Derevlians heard that he was again approaching, and consulted with Mal, their prince, saying, [55] "If a wolf comes among the sheep, he will take away the whole flock one by one, unless he be killed. If we do not thus kill him now, he will destroy us all." They then sent forward to Igor inquiring why he had returned, since he had collected all the tribute. But Igor did not heed them, and the Derevlians came forth from the city of Izkorosten, and slew Igor and his company, for the number of the latter was few. So Igor was buried, and his tomb is near the city of Izkorosten in Dereva even to this day.

But Olga was in Kiev with her son, the boy Svyatoslav. His tutor was Asmund, and the troop commander was Sveinald, the father of Mstikha. The Derevlians then said, "See, we have killed the Prince of Rus. Let us take his wife Olga for our Prince Mal, and then we shall obtain possession of Svyatoslav, and work our will upon him." So they sent their best men, twenty in number, to Olga by boat, and they arrived below Borichev in their boat. At that time, the water flowed below the heights of Kiev, and the inhabitants did not live in the valley, but upon the heights. The city of Kiev was on the present site of the palace of Gordiat and Nicephorus, and the prince's palace was in the city where the palace of Vratislav and Chud now stands, while the ferry was outside the city. Without the city there stood another palace, where the palace of the Cantors is now situated, behind the Church of the Holy Virgin upon the heights. This was a palace with a stone hall.

Olga was informed that the Derevlians had arrived, and summoned them to her presence with a gracious welcome. When the Derevlians had thus announced their arrival, Olga replied with an inquiry as to the reason of their coming. The Derevlians [56] then announced that their tribe had sent them to report that they had slain her husband, because he was like a wolf, crafty and ravening, but that their princes, who had thus preserved the land of Dereva, were good, and that Olga should come and marry their Prince Mal. For the name of the Prince of Dereva was Mal.

Olga made this reply, "Your proposal is pleasing to me; indeed, my husband cannot rise again from the dead. But I desire to honor you tomorrow in the presence of my people. Return now to your boat, and remain there with an aspect of arrogance. I shall send for you on the morrow, and you shall say, 'We will not ride on horses nor go on foot; carry us in our boat.' And you shall be carried in your boat." Thus she dismissed them to their vessel.

Now Olga gave command that a large deep ditch should be dug in the castle with the hall, outside the city. Thus, on the morrow, Olga, as she sat in the hall, sent for the strangers, and her messengers approached them and said, "Olga summons you to great honor." But they replied, "We will not ride on horseback nor in wagons, nor go on foot; carry us in our boat." The people of Kiev then lamented, "Slavery is our lot. Our Prince is killed, and our Princess intends to marry their prince." So they carried the Derevlians in their boat. The latter sat on the cross-benches in great robes, puffed up with pride. They thus were borne into the court before Olga, and when the men had brought the Derevlians in, they dropped them into the trench along with the boat. Olga bent over and inquired whether they found the honor to their taste. They answered that it was worse than the death of Igor. She then commanded that they should be buried alive, and they were thus buried.

Olga then sent messages to the Derevlians to the effect that, if they really required her presence, they should send after her their distinguished men, so that she might go [57] to their Prince with due honor, for otherwise her people in Kiev would not let her go. When the Derevlians heard this message, they gathered together the best men who governed the land of Dereva, and sent them to her. When the Derevlians arrived, Olga commanded that a bath should be made ready, and invited them to appear before her after they had bathed. The bathhouse was then heated, and the Derevlians entered in to bathe. Olga's men closed up the bathhouse behind them, and she gave orders to set it on fire from the doors, so that the Derevlians were all burned to death.

Olga then sent to the Derevlians the following message: "I am now coming to you, so prepare great quantities of mead in the city where you killed my husband, that I may weep over his grave and hold a funeral feast for him." When they heard these words, they gathered great quantities of honey, and brewed mead. Taking a small escort, Olga made the journey with ease, and upon her arrival at Igor's tomb, she wept for her husband. She bade her followers pile up a great mound, and when they had piled it up, she also gave command that a funeral feast should be held. Thereupon the Derevlians sat down to drink, and Olga bade her followers wait upon them.

The Derevlians inquired of Olga where the retinue was which they had sent to meet her. She replied that they were following with her husband's bodyguard. When the Derevlians were drunk, she bade her followers fall upon them, and went about herself egging on her retinue to the massacre of the Derevlians. So they cut down five thousand of them; but Olga returned to Kiev and prepared an army to attack the survivors.

6454 (946). Olga, together with her son [58] Svyatoslav, gathered a large and valiant army, and proceeded to attack the land of the Derevlians. The latter came out to meet her troops, and when both forces were ready for combat, Svyatoslav cast his spear against the Derevlians. But the spear pierced the ears of the horse, and struck the horse's foot, for the prince was but a child. Then Sveinald and Asmund said, "The prince has already begun battle; press on, vassals, after the prince." Thus they conquered the Derevlians, with the result that the latter fled, and shut themselves up in their cities.

Olga hastened with her son to the city of Izkorosten, for it was there that her husband had been slain, and they laid siege to the city. The Derevlians barricaded themselves within the city, and fought valiantly from it, for they realized that they had killed the prince, and to what fate they would in consequence surrender.

Olga remained there a year without being able to take the city, and then she thought out this plan. She sent into the town the following message: "Why do you persist in holding out? All your cities have surrendered to me and submitted to tribute, so that the inhabitants now cultivate their fields and their lands in peace. But you had rather die of hunger, without submitting to tribute." The Derevlians replied that they would be glad to submit to tribute, but that she was still bent on avenging her husband. Olga then answered, "Since I have already avenged the misfortune of my husband twice on the occasions when your messengers came to Kiev, and a third time when I held a funeral feast for him, I do not desire further revenge, but am anxious to receive a small tribute. After I have made peace with you, I shall return home again."

The Derevlians then inquired what she desired of them, and expressed their readiness to pay honey and furs. Olga retorted that at the moment they had neither honey nor furs, [59] but that she had one small request to make. "Give me three pigeons," she said, "and three sparrows from each house. I do not desire to impose a heavy tribute, like my husband, but I require only this small gift from you, for you are impoverished by the siege." The Derevlians rejoiced, and collected from each house three pigeons and three sparrows, which they sent to Olga with their greetings. Olga then instructed them, in view of their submission, to return to their city, promising that on the morrow she would depart and return to her own capital. The Derevlians reëntered their city with gladness, and when they reported to the inhabitants, the people of the town rejoiced.

Now Olga gave to each soldier in her army a pigeon or a sparrow, and ordered them to attach by a thread to each pigeon and sparrow a match bound with small pieces of cloth. When night fell, Olga bade her soldiers release the pigeons and the sparrows. So the birds flew to their nests, the pigeons to the cotes, and the sparrows under the eaves. Thus the dove-cotes, the coops, the porches, and the haymows were set on fire. There was not a house that was not consumed, and it was impossible to extinguish the flames, because all the houses caught fire at once. The people fled from the city, and Olga ordered her soldiers to catch them. Thus she took the city and burned it, and captured the elders of the city. Some of the other captives she killed, while she gave others as slaves to her followers. The remnant she left to pay [60] tribute.

She imposed upon them a heavy tribute, two parts of which went to Kiev, and the third to Olga in Vyshegorod; for Vyshegorod was Olga's city. She then passed through the land of Dereva, accompanied by her son and her retinue, establishing laws and tribute. Her residences and hunting-preserves are there still. Then she returned with her son to Kiev, her city, where she remained one year.

6455 (947). Olga went to Novgorod, and along the Msta she established trading-posts and collected tribute. She also collected imposts and tribute along the Luga. Her hunting-grounds, boundary posts, towns, and trading-posts still exist throughout the whole region, while her sleighs stand in Pskov to this day. Her ferries still remain on the Dnieper and the Desna, while her village of Olzhichi is in existence even now. After making these dispositions, she returned to her city of Kiev, and dwelt at peace with it.

6456–6463 (948–955). Olga went to Greece, and arrived at Tsargrad. The reigning Emperor was named Tzimiskes. Olga came before him, and when he saw that she was very fair of countenance and wise as well, the Emperor wondered at her intellect. He conversed with her and remarked that she was worthy to reign with him in his city. [61] When Olga heard his words, she replied that she was still a pagan, and that if he desired to baptize her, he should perform this function himself; otherwise, she was unwilling to accept baptism. The Emperor, with the assistance of the Patriarch, accordingly baptized her.

When Olga was enlightened, she rejoiced in soul and body. The Patriarch, who instructed her in the faith, said to her, "Blessed art thou among the women of Rus, for thou hast loved the light, and quit the darkness. The sons of Rus shall bless thee to the last generation of thy descendants." He taught her the doctrine of the church, and instructed her in prayer and fasting, in almsgiving, and in the maintenance of chastity. She bowed her head, and like a sponge absorbing water, she eagerly drank in his teachings. The princess bowed before the Patriarch, saying, "Through thy prayers, Holy Father, may I be preserved from the crafts and assaults of the devil!" At her baptism she was christened Helena, after the ancient Empress, mother of Constantine the Great. The Patriarch then blessed her and dismissed her.

After her baptism, the Emperor summoned Olga and made known to her that he wished her to become his wife. But she replied, "How can you marry me, after yourself baptizing me and calling me your daughter? For among Christians that is unlawful, as you yourself must know." Then the Emperor said, "Olga, you have outwitted me." He gave her many gifts of gold, silver, silks, and various vases, and dismissed her, still calling her his daughter.

Since Olga was anxious to return home, she went to the Patriarch to request his benediction for the homeward journey, and said to him, "My people and my son are heathen. May God protect me from all evil!" The Patriarch replied, "Child of the faith, thou hast been baptized in Christ and hast put on Christ. Christ [62] shall therefore save thee. Even as he saved Enoch in the early ages and Noah in the Ark, even as he saved Abraham from Abimelech, Lot from the Sodomites, Moses from Pharaoh, David from Saul, the Three Children from the fiery furnace, and Daniel from the wild beasts, he will preserve thee likewise from the devil and his snares." So the Patriarch blessed her, and she returned in peace to her own country, and arrived in Kiev.

Thus it was when the Queen of Ethiopia came to Solomon, wishing to hear his words of wisdom, and beheld much wisdom and many wonders. Even so, the sainted Olga sought the blessed wisdom of God. But the Queen sought human wisdom, while Olga sought divine wisdom. For those who seek for wisdom shall find it. "Wisdom is celebrated in the places of concourse, she lifteth up her voice in the streets; she crieth at the entrance to the walls, at the gates of cities she uttereth speech. For as many years as the just cleave to wisdom, they shall not be ashamed." (*Prov.* i, 20–22.)

From her youth up, the sainted Olga always sought wisdom in this world, and she found a pearl of great price, which is Christ. For Solomon has said, "The accomplished desire of the faithful is sweet to the soul," (*Prov.* xiii, 19); and, "Incline thine heart to wisdom; I love them that love me, and those that seek me shall find me." (*Ibid.*, xi, 2.) And the Lord said, "He who cometh to me I will not cast out." (*John*, vi, 38.)

Thus Olga arrived in Kiev, and the Greek Emperor sent a message to her, saying, "Inasmuch as I bestowed many gifts upon you, you promised me that on your return to Rus you would send me many presents of slaves, wax, and furs, [63] and despatch soldiery to aid me." Olga made answer to the envoys that if the Emperor would spend as long a time with her in the Pochaina as she had remained on the Bosporus, she would grant his request. With these words, she dismissed the envoys.

Now Olga dwelt with her son Svyatoslav, and she urged him to be baptized, but he would not listen to her suggestion, though when any man wished to be baptized, he was not hindered, but only mocked. For to the infidels, the Christian faith is foolishness. They do not comprehend it, because they walk in darkness and do not see the glory of God. Their hearts are hardened, and they can neither hear with their ears nor see with their eyes. For Solomon has said, "The deeds of the unrighteous are far from wisdom. Inasmuch as I have called you, and ye heard me not, I sharpened my words, and ye understood not. But ye have set at nought all my counsel, and would have none of my reproach. For they have hated knowledge, and the fear of Jehovah they have not chosen. They would none of my counsel, but despised all my reproof." (*Prov.* i, 24–31.)

Olga remarked oftentimes, "My son, I have learned to know God, and am glad for it. If you know him, you too will rejoice." But he did not heed her exhortation, answering, "How shall I alone accept another faith? My followers will laugh at that." But his mother replied, "If you are converted, all your subjects will perforce follow your example." Svyatoslav did not heed his mother, but followed heathen usages, for he did not know that whoever does not obey his mother shall come to distress. For it is written, "Whosoever heedeth not his father or his mother [64] shall suffer death." (*Exod.* xxi, 17.) But he was incensed at his mother for this reason. As Solomon has said, "He that correcteth the unrighteous getteth to himself reviling, and he that reproveth a wicked man getteth himself a blot. Rebuke not the evil, lest he hate thee." (*Prov.* ix, 7–8.) For rebuke addressed to evildoers provokes offence.

But notwithstanding, Olga loved her son Svyatoslav, and said, "So be the will of God. If God wishes to have pity upon my kin and upon the land of Rus, let him lead my son's heart to return to God, even as God has granted me to do." Thus saying, she prayed night and day for her son and for the people, while she brought him up to manhood and adult age.

6464–6472 (956–964). When Prince Svyatoslav had grown up and matured, he began to collect a numerous and valiant army. Stepping light as a leopard, he undertook many campaigns. Upon his expeditions he carried with him neither wagons nor kettles, and boiled no meat, but cut off small strips of horseflesh, game, or beef, and ate it after roasting it on the coals. Nor did he have a tent, but he spread out a garment under him, and set his saddle under his head; [65] and all his retinue did likewise. He sent messengers to the other lands announcing his intention to attack them. He went to the Oka and the Volga, and on coming in contact with the Vyatichians, he inquired of them to whom they paid tribute. They made answer that they paid a silver-piece per ploughshare to the Khazars.

6473 (965). Svyatoslav sallied forth against the Khazars. When they heard of his approach, they went out to meet him with their Prince, the Kagan, and the armies came to blows. When the battle thus took place, Svyatoslav defeated the Khazars and took their city of Byelavyezha. He also conquered the Yasians and the Kassogians.

6474 (966). Svyatoslav conquered the Vyatichians and made them his tributaries.

6475 (967). Svyatoslav marched to the Danube to attack the Bulgarians. When they fought together, Svyatoslav overcame the Bulgarians, and captured eighty towns along the Danube. He took up his residence there, and ruled in Pereyaslavetz, receiving tribute from the Greeks.

6476 (968). While Svyatoslav was at Pereyaslavetz, the Pechenegs invaded Rus for the first time. So Olga shut herself up in the city of Kiev with her grandsons, Yaropolk, Oleg, and Vladimir. The nomads besieged the city with a great force. They surrounded it with an innumerable multitude, so that it was impossible to escape or send messages from the city, and the inhabitants were weak from hunger and thirst. Those who had gathered on the other side of the Dnieper in their boats remained on that side, and not one of them could enter Kiev, while no one could cross over to them from the city itself.

[66] The inhabitants of the city were afflicted, and lamented, "Is there no one that can reach the opposite shore and report to the other party that if we are not relieved on the morrow, we must perforce surrender to the Pechenegs?" Then one youth volunteered to make the attempt, and the people begged him to try it. So he went out of the city with a bridle in his hand, and ran among the Pechenegs shouting out a question whether anyone had seen a horse. For he knew their language, and they thought he was one of themselves. When he approached the river, he threw off his clothes, jumped into the Dnieper, and swam out. As soon as the Pechenegs perceived his action, they hurried in pursuit, shooting at him the while, but they did not succeed in doing him any harm. The party on the other shore caught sight of

him, and rowed out in a boat to meet him. They then took him into their boat, and brought him to their company. He thus reported to them that if they could not relieve the city on the next day, the inhabitants would surrender to the Pechenegs.

Then their general, Pryetich by name, announced, "Tomorrow we shall approach by boat, and after rescuing the Princess and the young Princes, we shall fetch them over to this side. If we do not bring this to pass, Svyatoslav will put us to death." When it was morning, they embarked before dawn in their boats, and blew loudly on their trumpets. The people within the city raised a shout, so that the Pechenegs thought the Prince himself had returned, and accordingly fled from the city in various directions. Thus Olga went forth with her grandsons and her followers to the boats. When the Prince of the Pechenegs perceived their escape, he came alone to Pryetich the general, and inquired who had just arrived. Pryetich replied that it was a boat from the opposite bank. The Prince of the Pechenegs inquired whether Pryetich was the Prince himself. The general then replied that he was the Prince's vassal, and that he had come as a vanguard, [67] but that a countless force was on the way under the Prince's command. He made this statement simply to frighten the Pecheneg. So the Prince of the Pechenegs invited Pryetich to become his friend, to which request Pryetich assented. The two shook hands on it, and the Prince of the Pechenegs gave Pryetich his spear, sabre, and arrows, while the latter gave him his own breastplate, shield, and sword. The Pechenegs raised the siege, and for a time the inhabitants could no longer water their horses at the Lybed on account of the retreating enemy.

But the people of Kiev sent to Svyatoslav, saying, "Oh Prince, you visit and observe foreign lands. But while you neglect your own country, the Pechenegs have all but taken us captive, along with your mother and your children as well. Unless you return to protect us, they will attack us again, if you have no pity on your native land, on your mother in her old age, and on your children." When Svyatoslav heard these words, he quickly bestrode his charger, and returned to Kiev with his retinue. He kissed his mother and his children, and regretted what they had suffered at the hands of the Pechenegs. He therefore collected an army, and drove the Pechenegs out into the steppes. Thus there was peace.

6477 (969). Svyatoslav announced to his mother and his boyars, "I do not care to remain in Kiev, but should prefer to live in Pereyaslavetz on the Danube, since that is the centre of my realm, where all riches are concentrated: gold, silks, wine, and various fruits from Greece, silver and horses from Hungary and Bohemia, and from Rus furs, wax, honey, and slaves." But Olga made reply, "You behold me in my weakness. Why do you desire to depart from me?" For she was already in precarious health. [68] She thus remonstrated with him and begged him first to bury her and then to go wheresoever he would. Three days later Olga died. Her son wept for her with great mourning, as did likewise her grandsons and all the people. They thus carried her out, and buried her in her tomb. Olga had given command not to hold a funeral feast for her, for she had a priest who performed the last rites over the sainted Princess.

Olga was the precursor of the Christian land, even as the dayspring precedes the sun and as the dawn precedes the day. For she shone like the moon by night, and she was radiant among the infidels like a pearl in the mire, since the people were soiled, and not yet purified of their sin by holy baptism. But she herself was cleansed by this sacred purification. She put off the sinful garments of the old Adam, and was clad in the new Adam, which is Christ. Thus we say to her, "Rejoice in the Russes' knowledge of God," for we were the first fruits of their reconcilation with Him.

She was the first from Rus to enter the kingdom of God, and the sons of Rus thus praise her as their leader, for since her death she has interceded with God in their behalf. The souls of the righteous do not perish. As Solomon has said, "The nations rejoice in the praise of the righteous, for his memory is eternal, since it is acknowledged by God and men." (*Prov.* xxix, 2; *Wisdom*, iii, 4.) For all men glorify her, as they behold her lying there in the body for many years. As the prophet has said, "I will glorify them that glorify me." (*I Sam.* ii, 30.) Of such persons David also said, "The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance, he shall not be afraid of evil tidings. His heart is fixed, trusting in Jehovah, his heart is fixed, and [69] will not be moved." (*Ps.* cxii, 7–8.) And Solomon said, "The righteous live forever, and they have reward from God and grace from the Most High. Therefore shall they receive the kingdom of beauty, and the crown of goodness from the hand of the Lord. With his right hand will he cover them, and with his arm will he protect them." (*Wis.* v, 16–17.) For he protected the sainted Olga from the devil, our adversary and our foe.

6478 (970). Svyatoslav set up Yaroslav in Kiev and Oleg in Dereva. At this time came the people of Novgorod asking for themselves a prince. "If you will not come to us," said they, "then we will choose a prince of our own." So Svyatoslav promised them that a prince should be designated, but Yaropolk and Oleg both refused, so that Dobrynya suggested that the post should be offered to Vladimir. For Vladimir was son of Malyusha, confidante of Olga and sister of Dobrynya. Their father was Malk of Lyubech, and Dobrynya was thus Vladimir's uncle. The citizens of Novgorod thus requested Svyatoslav to designate Vladimir, and he granted their request. The Novgorodians took Vladimir to be their prince, and he went forth to Novgorod with Dobrynya his uncle. But Svyatoslav departed thence to Pereyaslavetz.

6479 (971). Svyatoslav arrived before Pereyaslavetz, and the Bulgarians fortified themselves in the city. They made one sally against Svyatoslav; there was great carnage, and the Bulgarians came off victors. But Svyatoslav cried to his soldiery, "We seem to be conquered here already. Let us fight bravely, brothers and companions!" Toward evening, Svyatoslav finally gained the upper hand, and took the city by storm. He then sent messages to the Greeks, announcing his intention to march against them and capture their city, as he had taken Pereyaslavetz. The Greeks replied that they were in no position to offer resistance, and therefore begged him to accept tribute [70] instead for himself and his soldiery, requesting him to notify them how many Russes there were, so that they might pay so much per head. The Greeks made this proposition to deceive the Russes, for the Greeks are crafty even to the present day. Svyatoslav replied that his force numbered twenty thousand, adding ten thousand to the actual number, for there were really but ten thousand Russes. So the Greeks armed one hundred thousand men to attack Svyatoslav, and paid no tribute.

Svyatoslav advanced against the Greeks, who came out to meet the Russes. When the Russes perceived their approach, they were terrified at the multitude of the Greek soldiery, and Svyatoslav remarked, "Now we have no place whither we may flee. Whether we will or no, we must give battle. Let us not disgrace Rus, but rather sacrifice our lives, lest we be dishonored. For if we flee, we shall be disgraced. We must not take to flight, but we will resist boldly, and I will march before you. If my head falls, then look to yourselves." Then his vassals replied, "Wherever your head falls, there we too will lay down our own." So the Russes went into battle, and the carnage was great. Svyatoslav came out victor, but the Greeks fled. Then Svyatoslav advanced toward the capital fighting as he went, and destroying towns that stand deserted even to the present time.

The Emperor summoned his boyars to the palace, and inquired what they should do, for they could not withstand Svyatoslav's onslaught. The boyars advised that he should be tempted with gifts, to discover whether Svyatoslav liked gold and silks. So they sent to Svyatoslav gold and silks, carried by a clever envoy. To the latter they gave command to look well upon his eyes, his face, and his spirit. The envoy took the gifts, and went out to Svyatoslav. It was reported to the Prince that Greeks had come bringing greetings, and he ordered that they should be introduced. They then came near and [71] greeted him, laying before him the gold and the silks. Svyatoslav, without noticing the presents, bade his servants keep them. So the envoys returned before the Emperor; and the Emperor summoned his boyars. Then the envoys reported that when they had come before Svyatoslav and offered their gifts, he had taken no notice of them, but had ordered them to be retained. Then another courtier said, "Try him a second time; send him arms."

This suggestion was adopted, and they sent to Svyatoslav a sword and other accoutrements which were duly brought before him. The Prince accepted these gifts, which he praised and admired, and returned his greetings to the Emperor. The envoys went back to the Emperor and reported what had occurred. Then the boyars remarked, "This man must be fierce, since he pays no heed to riches, but accepts arms. Submit to tribute." The Emperor accordingly requested Svyatoslav to approach no nearer, but to accept tribute instead. For Svyatoslav had indeed almost reached Tsargrad. So the Greeks paid him tribute, and he took also the share of those Russes who had been slain, promising that their families should receive it. He accepted many gifts besides, and returned to Pereyaslavetz with great acclaim.

Upon observing the small number of his troops, Svyatoslav reflected that if haply the Greeks attacked him by surprise, they would kill his retinue and himself. For many warriors had perished on the expedition. So he resolved to return to Rus for reinforcements. He then sent envoys to the Emperor in Silistria (for the Emperor was then at that place) indicating his intention to maintain peaceful and friendly relations. When the Emperor heard this message, he rejoiced, and sent to Svyatoslav gifts even more valuable than the former ones. Svyatoslav accepted these gifts, and on taking counsel with his retinue declared, "If we do not make peace with the Emperor, and he discovers how few of us there are, the Greeks will come and besiege us in our city. Rus is far away, and the Pechenegs are hostile to us. So who will give us aid? Let us rather make peace with [72] the Emperor, for the Greeks have offered tribute; let that suffice. But if the Emperor stops paying tribute, we shall once more collect troops in Rus in still greater numbers, and march again on Tsargrad." His speech pleased his followers, and they sent their chief men to the Emperor. The envoys arrived in Silistria, and reported to the Emperor. He summoned them before him on the following day, and gave them permission to state their errand. They then replied, "Thus says our Prince: 'I desire to maintain true amity with the Greek Emperor henceforth and forever.'" The Emperor rejoiced, and commanded his scribe to set down on parchment the words of Svyatoslav. One envoy recited all his words, and the scribe wrote them down. He spoke as follows:

"In accordance with the previous treaty concluded by Svyatoslav, Prince of Rus, and by Sveinald, with Johannes surnamed Tzimiskes, written down by Theophilus the secretary in Silistria during the month of July, in the year 6479 (971), the fourteenth of the indiction, I, Svyatoslav, Prince of Rus, even as I previously swore, now confirm by oath upon this covenant that I desire to preserve peace and perfect amity with each of the great Greek Emperors, and particularly with Basil and Constantine, and with their successors inspired of God, and with all their subjects. In this resolve concur all Russes under my sway, [73] both boyars and commons, forever. I will therefore contemplate no attack upon your territory, nor will I collect an army or foreign mercenaries for this purpose, nor will I incite any other foe against your realm or against any territory pertaining thereto, and particularly against the district of Kherson, or the cities thereto adjacent, or against Bulgaria. But if any other foe plans to attack your realm, I will resist him and wage war upon him. And even as I have given oath to the Greek Emperors in company with my boyars and all my subjects, so may we preserve this treaty inviolate. But if we fail in the observance of any of the aforesaid stipulations, either I, or my companions, or my subjects, may we be accursed of the God in whom we believe, namely, of Perun and Volos, the god of flocks, and may we become yellow as gold, and be slain with our own weapons. Regard as truth what we have now covenanted with you, even as it is inscribed upon this parchment and sealed with our seals."

After making peace with the Greeks, Svyatoslav journeyed by boat to the cataracts of the Dnieper, and the general, Sveinald, advised him to ride around the falls on horseback, for the Pechenegs were encamped in the vicinity. The Prince did not heed him, but went on by boat. The people of Pereyaslavetz informed the Pechenegs that Svyatoslav was returning to Rus after seizing from the Greeks great riches and immense booty, but that his troop was small. When the Pechenegs heard this news, they ambuscaded the cataracts, so that when Svyatoslav arrived it was impossible to pass them. So the Prince decided to winter in Byelobereg, but the Russes had no rations, so that there was a severe famine, and [74] they paid as much as half a *grivna* for a horse's head. But Svyatoslav wintered there nevertheless.

When spring came, in 6480 (972), Svyatoslav approached the cataracts, where Kurya, Prince of the Pechenegs, attacked him; and Svyatoslav was killed. The nomads took his head, and made a cup out of his skull, overlaying it with gold, and they drank from it. But Sveinald returned to Yaropolk in Kiev. Now all the years of Svyatoslav's reign were twenty-eight.

6481 (973). The reign of Yaropolk began.

6482–6483 (974–975). The son of Sveinald, Lyut by name, was devoted to hunting, and went out of Kiev to chase wild beasts in the forest. Oleg once saw him, and inquired who he was. He was informed that it was the son of Sveinald; then he rode up and killed him, for Oleg was hunting too. Therefore there sprung up a feud between Yaropolk and Oleg, and Sveinald was continually egging Yaropolk on to attack his brother and seize his property, because he wished to avenge his son.

6484–6485 (976–977). Yaropolk marched against his brother Oleg into the district of Dereva. Oleg sallied out to meet him, and they came to blows. When the companies fought, Yaropolk overcame Oleg. Where Oleg fled with his warriors into the town called Vruchi, there was a bridge across a moat to the city gates, and as the soldiery pressed hard on each other's heels, they fell into the moat. Oleg also was pushed from the bridge into the ditch; many men fell in, and the horses crushed the soldiers.

When Yaropolk entered [75] his brother's city, he seized the latter's property, and sent in search of him. Upon looking for Oleg, Yaropolk's men were unable to find him, until one native of Dereva reported that he had seen Oleg pushed off the bridge the night before. So Yaropolk sent men to look for his brother. They dragged bodies from the moat from morning till noon, and found Oleg also under the other corpses. They carried him away and laid him upon a rug. Then Yaropolk came and wept over him, and remarked to Sveinald, "See the fulfillment of your wish." So they buried Oleg in the city of Vruchi, and his tomb is there to this day. Yaropolk seized his property. Now Yaropolk had a Greek wife who had been a nun. For Svyatoslav, his father, had brought her home, and married her to Yaropolk on account of the beauty of her countenance. When Vladimir in Novgorod heard that Yaropolk had killed Oleg, he was afraid, and fled abroad. Then Yaropolk sent his viceroys to Novgorod, and was thus the sole ruler in Rus.

6686–6688 (978–980). Vladimir returned to Novgorod with Varangian allies, and instructed the viceroys of Yaropolk to return to the latter and inform him that Vladimir was advancing against him prepared to fight. He remained in Novgorod, and sent word to Rogvolod in Polotzk that he desired his daughter to wife. Rogvolod inquired of his daughter whether she wished to marry Vladimir. "I will not," she replied, [76] "draw off the boots of a slave's son, but I want Yaropolk instead." Now Rogvolod had come from overseas, and exercised the authority in Polotzk just as Tur, from whom the Turovians get their name, had done in Turov. The servants of Vladimir returned and reported to him all the words of Rogned, the daughter of Rogvolod, prince of Polotzk. Vladimir then collected a large army, consisting of Varangians, Slavs, Chuds, and Krivichians, and marched against Rogvolod. At this time, the intention was that Rogned should marry Yaropolk. But Vladimir attacked Polotzk, killed Rogvolod and his two sons, and after marrying the prince's daugher, he proceeded against Yaropolk.

Vladimir came to Kiev with a large force. Yaropolk could not resist him, but shut himself up in Kiev with his people and with Blud. Vladimir came to a halt at Dorogozhichi, and entrenched himself between there and Kapichi; his earthwork is there to this day. Vladimir then sent treacherous proposals to Blud, Yaropolk's general, saying, "Be my friend; if I kill my brother, I will regard you as my father, and you shall have much honor from me. It was not I who began to fight with my brother, but he, and I was for that reason overcome by fear, and therefore have come against him." Blud replied to the messengers of Vladimir that he would join with him in sincere friendship.

Alas, the evil treachery of men! As David says, "He who did eat of my bread hath lifted up his heel against me." (*Ps.* xli, 9.) For this man plotted treacherously against his prince. And it is further written, "Their tongues have spoken falsely. Hold them guilty, oh God, let them fall by their own counsels; [77] thrust them out in the multitude of their transgressions, for they have angered thee, oh Lord." (*Ps.* v, 10–11.) David has likewise said, "Bloodthirsty and deceitful men shall not live out half their days." (*Ps.* lv, 23.) This is evil counsel upon which they enter for the shedding of blood. Those men are mad who, after receiving honor and gifts from their prince or their lord, think on the life of their prince to destroy it; they are worse than devils. It was thus that Blud betrayed his prince after receiving many honors from him. He became guilty of his blood.

Blud shut himself up with Yaropolk with the intention of betraying him, and he sent frequent messages to Vladimir, urging him to storm the city while he himself planned how he might kill Yaropolk. But on account of the citizens, it was not possible to kill him. So Blud, not being able to destroy him thus, contrived it by means of a ruse, while he urged the prince not to go forth from the city to fight. Thus he craftily suggested to Yaropolk that the people of Kiev were sending messages to invite Vladimir to approach the town so that they might betray Yaropolk into his hands, and advised him to flee from the city. Yaropolk heeded his suggestion, and he fled from Vladimir. He then shut himself up in the city of Rodnya at the mouth of the Ros, while Vladimir entered the city of Kiev, and then laid siege to Yaropolk at Rodnya. There was great famine there, and we have to this day a proverb which speaks of famine as in Rodnya.

Blud then said to Yaropolk, "Do you see what a large force your brother has? We cannot overcome them. Make peace with your brother." He spoke thus plotting treachery against him. But Yaropolk assented. Blud then sent word to Vladimir [78] that he would bring Yaropolk before him, in accordance with his wishes. Vladimir, upon hearing these tidings, went to his father's castle with the hall, of which we previously made mention, and settled there with his retinue. Blud next induced Yaropolk to appear before his brother and express his readiness to accept any terms he might offer. Yaropolk thus went in person to Vladimir, though he had been previously warned by Varyazhko not to go. "My prince," said he, "they will kill you. Flee rather to the Pechenegs and collect an army." But the prince heeded him not.

Yaropolk came accordingly before Vladimir, and when he entered the door, two Varangians stabbed him under the arms with their swords, while Blud shut the doors and would not allow his men to follow him. Thus Yaropolk was slain. When Varyazhko saw that Yaropolk was murdered, he fled from the castle to the Pechenegs, in whose company he fought long against Vladimir till the latter won him over only with difficulty by means of a sworn pledge.

Now Vladimir had intercourse with his brother's wife, a Greek woman, and she became pregnant, and from her was born Svyatopolk. From a sinful root evil fruit is produced, inasmuch as his mother had been a nun, and besides Vladimir had intercourse with her without having married her. Svyatopolk was therefore born in adultery, and for this reason his father did not love him; for he had two fathers, Yaropolk and Vladimir.

At this time, the Varangians said to Vladimir, "This city belongs to us, and we took it; hence we desire tribute from it at the rate of two *grivni* per man." Vladimir requested them to wait until the marten-skins should be collected [79] a month thence. They waited a month and he gave them nothing, so that the Varangians protested that he had deceived them, and requested that they should be dismissed to Greece. The prince urged them to go their way. He then selected from their number the good, the wise, and the brave men, to whom he assigned cities, while the rest departed for Tsargrad in Greece. But in advance of them Vladimir sent couriers bearing this message: "Varangians are on their way to your country. Do not keep many of them in your city, or else they will cause you such harm as they have done here. Scatter them therefore in various localities, and do not let a single one return this way."

Vladimir then began to reign alone in Kiev, and he set up idols on the hill outside the castle with the hall: one of Perun, made of wood with a head of silver and a mouth of gold, and others of Khors, Dazhbog, Stribog, Simargl, and Mokosh. The people sacrificed to them, calling them gods, and brought their sons and their daughters to sacrifice them to these devils. They desecrated the earth with their offerings, and the land of Rus and this hill were defiled with blood. But our gracious God desires not the death of sinners, and upon this hill now stands a church dedicated to St Basil, as we shall later narrate.

But let us return to our subject.

Vladimir had appointed his uncle Dobrynya to rule over Novgorod.

When Dobrynya came to Novgorod, he set up an idol beside the river Volkhov, and the people of Novgorod offered sacrifice to it as if to God himself. Now Vladimir was overcome by lust for women. His lawful wife was Rogned, whom he settled on the [80] Lybed, where the village of Predslavino now stands. By her he had four sons: Izyaslav, Mstislav, Yaroslav, and Vsevolod, and two daughters. The Greek woman bore him Svyatopolk; by one Czech he had a son Vysheslav; by another, Svyatoslav and Mstislav; and by a Bulgarian woman, Boris and Gleb. He had three hundred concubines at Vyshgorod, three hundred at Byelgorod, and two hundred at Berestovo in a village still called Berestovoye. He was insatiable in vice. He even seduced married women and violated young girls, for he was a libertine like Solomon. For it is said that Solomon had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines. He was wise, yet in the end he came to ruin, but Vladimir, though at first deluded, eventually found salvation.

The charm of woman is an evil thing. As Solomon in his repentance said of woman: "Listen not to an evil woman. Honey flows from the lips of a licentious woman, and for a time it delights thy palate. But in the end it will become bitterer than wormwood. They who cleave to her shall die in hell; for she walks not in the path of life, but unstable and foolish are her ways." (*Prov.* v, 3–6.) Thus spoke Solomon of adulteresses, but of a good woman he said, "More precious is she than jewels. Her husband rejoices in her, for she brings him blessedness [81] all the days of her life. She seeks wool and flax, she makes useful things with her hands. She is like a merchant ship that goes out for trade and collects great riches. She rises also while it is yet night, she gives food to the household and tasks to the servants. She considered a field and has bought it, with the fruit of her hands she has planted a vineyard. She has girded up her loins with strength, and has made firm her arm for labor. She has proved how good it is to labor, and her candle goes not out by night. She sets her hands to useful things, and her fingers work with the spindle. She stretches out her hand to the poor, and has given her wealth to the beggar. Her husband is not concerned with the household; wherever she may be, her family is clothed. Double garments she makes for her husband, scarlet and purple are her robes. Her husband is distinguished within the gates when he sits in council with the elders and the inhabitants of the land. She has made garments and sold them. She has opened her lips with wisdom, she speaks fittingly with her tongue. She is clothed in strength and grace. Her almsgivings have raised and enriched her children, and her husband has commended her. For a wise woman is blessed; let her praise the fear of God. Give her the fruit of her lips, that they may praise her husband within the gates." (*Prov.* xxxi, 10 ff.)

6489 (981). Vladimir marched upon the Lyakhs and took their cities: Peremyshl, Cherven, and other towns, all of which are subject to Rus even to this day. In the same year, he conquered the Vyatichians, and imposed [82] upon them tribute according to the number of their ploughs, just as his father had done.

6490 (982). The Vyatichians went to war, but Vladimir attacked them and conquered them a second time.

6491 (983). Vladimir marched on the Yatvingians, conquered them, and seized their territory. He returned to Kiev, and together with his people made sacrifice to the idols. The elders and the boyars then proposed that they should cast lots for a youth and a maiden, and sacrifice to the gods whomsoever the lot should fall upon.

Now there was a certain Varangian whose house was situated at the spot where now stands the Church of the Holy Virgin, which Vladimir built. This Varangian had immigrated from Greece. He adhered to the Christian faith, and he had a son, fair in face and in heart, on whom, through the devil's hatred, the lot fell. For the devil, though he had dominion over all the rest, could not suffer this youth. He was like a thorn in the devil's heart, and the accursed one was eager to destroy him, and even aroused the people thereto. Messengers thus came and said to the father, "Since the lot has fallen upon your son, the gods have claimed him as their own. Let us therefore make sacrifice to the gods." But the Varangian replied, "These are not gods, but only idols of wood. Today it is, and tomorrow it will rot away. These gods do not eat, or drink, or speak; they are fashioned by hand out of wood. But the God whom the Greeks serve and worship is one; it is he who has made heaven and earth, the stars, the moon, the sun, and mankind, and has granted him life upon earth. But what have these gods created? They are themselves made. [83] I will not give up my son to devils." So the messengers went back and reported to the people. The latter took up arms, attacked the Varangian and his son, and broke down the stockade about his house. They then called upon him to surrender his son that they might offer him to the gods. But he replied, "If they be gods, they will send one of their number to take my son.

What need have you of him?" They straightway raised a shout, and broke up the structure under them. Thus the people killed them, and no one knows where they are buried.

For at this time the Russes were ignorant pagans. The devil rejoiced thereat, for he did not know that his ruin was approaching. He was so eager to destroy the Christian people, yet he was expelled by the true cross even from these very lands. The accursed one thought to himself, "This is my habitation, a land where the apostles have not taught nor the prophets prophesied." He knew not that the Prophet had said, "I will call those my people who are not my people." (*Hosea*, ii, 23.) Likewise it is written of the Apostles, "Their message has gone out into all the earth and their words to the end of the world." (*Ps.* xix, 5.) Though the Apostles have not been there in person, their teachings resound like trumpets in the churches throughout the world. Through their instruction we overcome the hostile adversary, and trample him under our feet. For likewise did the Holy Fathers trample upon him, and they have received the heavenly crown in company with the holy martyrs and the righteous.

6492 (984). Vladimir attacked the Radimichians. His general was named Wolf's Tail, and Vladimir sent him on ahead. He met the Radimichians by the river Pyeshchan, and overcame [84] them. Therefore the Russes ridiculed the Radimichians, saying that they fled in the presence of a wolf's tail. Now the Radimichians belong to the race of the Lyakhs. They had come and settled in these regions, and pay tribute to the Russes, an obligation which they maintain to the present day.

9493 (985). Accompanied by his uncle Dobrynya, Vladimir set out by boat to attack the Bulgarians. He also brought Torks overland on horseback, and conquered the Bulgarians. Dobrynya remarked to Vladimir, "I have seen the prisoners, who all wear boots. They will not pay us tribute. Let us rather look for foes with bast shoes." So Vladimir made peace with the Bulgarians, and they confirmed it by oath. The Bulgarians declared, "May peace prevail between us till stone floats and straw sinks." Then Vladimir returned to Kiev.

6694 (986). Vladimir was visited by Bulgarians of Mohammedan faith, who said, "Though you are a wise and prudent prince, you have no religion. Adopt our faith, and revere Mahomet." Vladimir inquired what was the nature of their religion. They replied that they believed in God, and that Mahomet instructed them to practice circumcision, to eat no pork, to drink no wine, and, after death, promised them complete fulfillment of their carnal desires. "Mahomet," they asserted, "will give each man seventy fair women. He may choose one fair one, and upon that woman will Mahomet confer the charms of them all, and she shall be his wife. Mahomet promises that one may then satisfy every desire, but whoever is poor in this world [85] will be no different in the next." They also spoke other false things which out of modesty may not be written down. Vladimir listened to them, for he was fond of women and indulgence, regarding which he heard with pleasure. But circumcision and abstinence from pork and wine were disagreeable to him. "Drinking," said he, "is the joy of the Russes. We cannot exist without that pleasure."

Then came the Germans, asserting that they were come as emissaries of the Pope. They added, "Thus says the Pope: 'Your country is like our country, but your faith is not as ours. For our faith is the light. We worship God, who has made heaven and earth, the stars, the moon, and every creature, while your gods are only wood.'" Vladimir inquired what their teaching was. They replied, "Fasting according to one's strength. But whatever one eats or drinks is all to the glory of God, as our teacher Paul has said." Then Vladimir answered, "Depart hence; our fathers accepted no such principle."

The Jewish Khazars heard of these missions, and came themselves saying, "We have learned that Bulgarians and Christians came hither to instruct you in their faiths. The Christians believe in him whom we crucified, but we believe in the one God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." Then Vladimir inquired what their religion was. They replied that its tenets included circumcision, not eating pork or hare, and observing the Sabbath." The Prince then asked where their native land was, and they replied that it was in Jerusalem. When Vladimir inquired where that was, they made answer, "God was angry [86] at our forefathers, and scattered us among the gentiles on account of our sins. Our land was then given to the Christians." The Prince then demanded, "How can you hope to teach others while you yourselves are cast out and scattered abroad by the hand of God? If God loved you and your faith, you would not be thus dispersed in foreign lands. Do you expect us to accept that fate also?"

Then the Greeks sent to Vladimir a scholar, who spoke thus: "We have heard that the Bulgarians came and urged you to adopt their faith, which pollutes heaven and earth. They are accursed above all men, like Sodom and Gomorrah, upon which the Lord let fall burning stones, and which he buried and submerged. The day of destruction likewise awaits these men, on which the Lord will come to judge the earth, and to destroy all those who do evil and abomination. For they moisten their excrement, and pour the water into their mouths, and anoint their beards with it, remembering Mahomet. The women also perform this same abomination, and even worse ones." Vladimir, upon hearing their statements, spat upon the earth, saying, "This is a vile thing."

Then the scholar said, "We have likewise heard how men came from Rome to convert you to the Roman faith. It differs but little from ours, for they commune with wafers, called oblates, which God did not give them, for he ordained that we should commune with bread. For when he had taken bread, the Lord gave it to his disciples, saying, 'This is my body broken [87] for you.' Likewise he took the cup, and said, 'This is my blood of the New Testament.' They do not so act, for they have modified the faith." Then Vladimir remarked that the Jews had come into his presence and had stated that the Germans and the Greeks believe in him whom they had crucified. To this the scholar replied, "Of a truth we believe in him. For some of the prophets foretold that God should be incarnate, and others that he should be crucified and buried, but arise on the third day and ascend into heaven. For the Jews killed the prophets, and still others they persecuted. When their prophecy was fulfilled, our Lord came down to earth, was crucified, arose again, and ascended into heaven. He awaited their repentance for forty-six years, but they did not repent, so that the Lord let loose the Romans upon them. Their cities were destroyed, and they were scattered among the gentiles, under whom they are now in servitude."

Vladimir then inquired why God should have descended to earth and should have endured such pain. The scholar then answered and said, "If you are desirous of hearing the story, I shall tell you from the beginning why God descended to earth." Vladimir replied, "Gladly would I hear it." Whereupon the scholar thus began his narrative:

"In the beginning, God created heaven and earth on the first day. Upon the second, he created the land which is in the midst of the water. Upon this same day, the waters were divided. A part of them was elevated above the land, and a part placed below it. On the third day, he created the sea, the rivers, the springs, and the seeds. On the fourth, God made the sun, the moon, and the stars, and thus adorned the heavens. When the foremost of the angels, the chief of the angelic host, beheld these works, he reflected and said, 'I shall descend to the earth, and seize upon it. [88] I shall then be like to God, and shall establish my throne upon the northern clouds.' But God cast him straightway out of heaven, and in his train fell the tenth order of the angels, who had been subject to him. The name of this adversary was Sathanael, in whose place God set Michael as chief, while Satan, after sinning in his devices and falling from his former glory, is now called the adversary of God.

"Subsequently, upon the fifth day, God created whales, fishes, reptiles, and feathered fowl. On the sixth, God created beasts, cattle, and terrestrial reptiles. He also created man. Upon the seventh day, which is the Sabbath, God rested from his labors. He set Paradise in the east in Eden. There he placed man, whom he had created, and bade him eat of every tree save one, namely, the tree of the understanding of good and evil. Thus Adam was in Paradise, beholding God, and glorified him when the angels glorified him.

"Now God cast a drowsiness upon Adam, and he slept. Then God took from him one rib, and made him a wife, whom he brought to Adam in Paradise. Then Adam said, 'This is bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh,' and she was called woman. Adam gave names to the cattle and the birds, the beasts and the reptiles; to man and to woman an angel gave names. God subjected the beasts and the cattle to Adam's rule; he ruled over them, and they obeyed his word.

"When the devil saw how God honored man, he hated him. Changing himself into a serpent, he approached Eve and inquired of her, 'Why do you not eat of the tree that stands in the middle of Paradise.' The woman made answer to the serpent, 'God has said: "Ye must not eat of it, or ye shall die the death."' Then the serpent said, 'You shall not die the death. God knew [89] that upon the day when you eat of it, your eyes shall be opened, and you shall be as God, understanding good and evil.' Now the woman saw that the tree was good to eat, so she ate of it, and gave of it to her husband. They ate, and their eyes were opened, so that they realized that they were naked, and plaited for themselves girdles of fig-leaves.

"Then God said, 'The earth is accursed of your deeds, and ye shall live in sorrow all the days of your life. If ye stretch out your hand and pluck the fruit of the tree of life, ye will live forever.' So the Lord God drove Adam out of Paradise. He sat opposite the gate of Paradise weeping and tilling the soil, and Satan rejoiced that the earth was accursed. This was the first fall of man and his bitter punishment, in that he lost the angelic life.

"Adam begot Cain and Abel. Cain was a plowman, and Abel a shepherd. Now Cain offered God of the fruit of the earth, but God did not accept his gifts. But Abel brought him of his firstling lambs, and God accepted the offerings of Abel. Then Satan approached Cain, and incited him to kill Abel. So Cain said to Abel, 'Let us go into the field.' When they had gone forth, Cain rose up and wished to kill his brother, but he did not know how to compass the deed. But Satan said, 'Take up a stone and smite him.' So Cain took a stone and killed him. Then God said to Cain, 'Where is thy brother?' And Cain replied, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' So God said, 'The blood of thy brother cries aloud to me; thou shalt groan and tremble unto thy life's end.'

"Adam and Eve wept, but the devil rejoiced, saying, [90] 'Behold, him whom God held in honor I have made to depart from God, and now sorrow has come upon him.' So they mourned Abel for thirty years. His body did not decompose, but they did not know how to bury him. Then, by God's command, two birds flew down, and one of them died. The other dug a trench, and placed the dead bird therein, and buried it. When Adam and Eve beheld this, they too dug a trench, and placed Abel in it, and buried him thus with sorrow.

"When Adam was two hundred and thirty years old, he begot Seth and two daughters. Cain married one and Seth the other, and from them the race of men multiplied and increased throughout the earth. But they knew not their creator, and were filled with every vice and uncleanness, with lust and with hatred, and they lived like cattle. Noah was the only just man in the whole race, and he begot three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. God said, 'My spirit shall not abide among men; I will destroy what I have created, both man and beast.' Then the Lord God said to Noah, 'Build an ark three hundred cubits long and fifty cubits broad, and thirty cubits high (for a *sazhen* was called a cubit).' The ark was one hundred years building, but Noah foretold that there was to be a flood, and the people mocked him. When the ark was finished, the Lord said to Noah, 'Enter into it, thyself and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy daughters-in-law. Take with thee two each of all beasts, birds, and reptiles.' So Noah led them into the ark as the Lord had enjoined him.

"Then God brought a flood upon the earth, and drowned all flesh, but the ark floated upon the water. When the waters had subsided, Noah and [91] his sons and his wife went forth, and by them the earth was peopled. There were many men with but one language, and they said one to another, 'Let us build a tower as high as heaven.' They even began to build it with Nimrod as their chief. But God said, 'Men have multiplied, and their devices are vain.' Then God descended, and divided the nations into seventy-two peoples. But the tongue of Adam was not taken away from Eber, for he alone had not joined in their vanity, saying, 'If God had bidden men to build a tower as high as heaven, he would have ordained it with a word, even as he created the heavens, the earth, the sea, and all things visible and invisible.' Therefore Eber's language was unaltered, and from him are descended the Hebrews.

"The human race was thus divided into seventy-two nations and scattered throughout the world, each one having its own customs. Following the devil's instruction, they sacrificed to trees, springs, and rivers, and did not know God. Between Adam and the Flood, two thousand two hundred and forty years passed, and between the Flood and the division of the nations, five hundred and twenty-nine years. Subsequently, the devil cast mankind into yet greater error, so that they undertook to build idols, some of wood, some of brass, others of marble, and still others of gold and silver. They not only worshipped them, but even brought their sons and daughters and killed them before these images, so that all the earth was defiled.

"The author of idolatry was Serug, for he made idols in the name of dead men, emperors, heroes, magicians, and evil women. Serug begot [92] Terah, and Terah begot three sons, Abraham, Nahor, and Haran. Terah built idols, having learned the art from his father. But Abraham, having come to reason, looked up to heaven, and upon observing the stars and the sky, said, 'In truth, that is God, and those that my brother makes only deceive men.' Then Abraham announced, 'I will test the gods of my father,' and he inquired, 'Father, why do you deceive men by making idols of wood? It is God who has made heaven and earth.' Abraham then set fire to the idols in the temple. When Haran, Abraham's brother, saw this act, in his zeal for the idols he endeavored to save them, and was himself consumed, so that he died before his father. For prior to that time, no son had passed away before his father, but the father had always died before his son; from this time forth, sons began to perish before their fathers.

"God loved Abraham, and said to him, 'Go forth out of the house of thy father into the land to which I shall guide thee. I shall make of thee a nation, and the generations of the earth shall bless thee.' And Abraham did as the Lord ordained. So Abraham took his nephew Lot (for Lot was both his brother-in-law and his nephew, since Abraham had married his brother's daughter Sarai); and he came to a high oak in the land of Canaan. God said to Abraham, 'To thy seed will I give this land.' Then Abraham worshipped God. Now Abraham was seventy-five years old when he went out of Haran. But Sarai was barren, and since she was afflicted with her sterility, Sarai said to Abraham, 'Have intercourse with [93] my maid-servant.' So Sarai took Hagar and gave her to Abraham, who had intercourse with her. She conceived and bore a son, and Abraham called him Ishmael. Abraham was eighty-six years old when Ishmael was born. Afterward, Sarai conceived and bore a son, and called his name Isaac. Then God directed Abraham to circumcise the child, and he duly circumcised him on the eighth day. God loved Abraham and his race. He called them his people, and distinguished them from the Gentiles by calling them his own.

"When Isaac was grown up, Abraham, having lived one hundred and seventy-five years, died and was buried. When Isaac was sixty, he begot two sons, Esau and Jacob. Esau was crafty and Jacob truthful. Jacob served his uncle seven years for his younger daughter, but Laban did not give her to him, saying, 'Take the elder instead.' He thus gave him Leah, the elder, but for the younger demanded of him seven years' further service. So Jacob served seven more years for Rachel, and married the two sisters. By them he begot eight sons: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zabulon, Joseph, and Benjamin. From two slaves he also begot Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asser. From these brethren the Jews are sprung.

"Jacob went into Egypt when he was one hundred and thirty years old, accompanied by his kin to the number of sixty-five souls. He lived in Egypt seventeen years before his death, and his race was in captivity four hundred years. During these years, the Jewish people increased and multiplied, [94] but the Egyptians crushed them with toil. At this time, Moses was born among the Jews, and the Egyptians informed the King that a child had been born among the Jews who should destroy Egypt. Then the King gave orders to cast the growing children of the Jews into the river. But Moses' mother, fearing his destruction, took the infant and laid him in a basket, and set him in the water.

"At this moment, Thermuthi, the daughter of Pharaoh, went down to bathe, and on seeing the child floating there, she rescued him, and named him Moses, and brought him up. The child was fair, and was four years old when the daughter of Pharaoh brought him before her father. When Pharaoh saw Moses, he fancied the child. Moses seized him around the neck, knocked the crown from the King's head, and stamped upon it. A magician who beheld this act protested to the King, 'Oh King, destroy this child, for if you do not destroy him, he will ruin all Egypt.' The King heeded him not, but gave command that no more of the Jewish children should be killed.

"When Moses grew to manhood, he was great in the house of Pharaoh. But when another King came to the throne, the nobles hated him. Then Moses, since he had killed an Egyptian who was persecuting a Jew, fled from Egypt, and came to the land of Midian. As he was making his way across the desert, he learned from the angel Gabriel about the nature of the whole world, of the first man, what happened after him, about the flood, the confusion of the tongues, the age of each man, the movement and the number of the stars, the dimensions of the earth, [95] and all wisdom. Thereafter, God appeared to him in the burning bush, and said to him, 'I have seen the oppression of my people in Egypt, and have descended to take them from the hands of the Egyptians, and to lead them forth from that land. Go therefore to Pharaoh, King of Egypt, and say unto him, "Set Israel free, that they may perform sacrifice to God for three days." If the King of Egypt heed thee not, I will smite him with all my wonders.'

"When Moses came before Pharaoh, the King did not heed him. Then God sent ten plagues upon him: rivers of blood, frogs, gnats, dog-flies, cattle-plague, burning vesicles, hail, locusts, three days' darkness, and pestilence among the population. Ten plagues were thus visited upon the Egyptians, because they drowned the children of the Jews for ten months. But when there was pestilence in Egypt, Pharaoh said to Moses and his brother Aaron, 'Depart hence quickly.' So Moses, after gathering the Jews together, departed out of the land of Egypt.

"The Lord led them over the road through the desert to the Red Sea preceding them by night as a fiery pillar, and by day as a cloud. When Pharaoh heard how the people were escaping, he pursued them, and overtook them by the seaside. When the Jews beheld this, they cried out against Moses, saying, 'Why have you led us out to certain death?' Then Moses called upon God, and the Lord said, 'Why callest thou upon me? Smite the sea with thy staff.' Moses did thus, and the water parted in twain, so that the children of Israel went down into the sea. When Pharaoh beheld this, [96] he pursued them, for the children of Israel were traveling on dry land. But when they reached the shore, the sea closed over Pharaoh and his warriors.

"God loved Israel, and they traveled three days from the sea, and arrived at Marah. There the water was bitter. The people murmured against God, but the Lord showed them a tree, and when Moses placed it in the water, the water was sweetened. Then they still murmured against Moses and Aaron, saying, 'It was better for us in Egypt, where we ate meat, onions, and bread till we were filled.' The Lord then said to Moses, 'I have heard the complaint of the children of Israel,' and he gave them manna to eat. Afterward, the Lord revealed the law to them upon Mt Sinai. But while Moses was with God upon the mountain, the people moulded a calf's head and bowed down before it as if before God himself, and Moses killed three thousand of them.

"Yet again they murmured against Moses and Aaron because there was no water, and the Lord said to Moses, 'Smite the rock with thy rod.' But Moses replied, 'How can water issue from it?' Then the Lord was angry at Moses because he did not glorify him, and for this reason, on account of these murmurings, he did not enter the Promised Land. But Moses died there on the mountain.

"Then Joshua son of Nun assumed the leadership. He entered the Promised Land and destroyed the Canaanites, and settled the children of Israel there in their stead. Then, when Joshua died, Judah was judge in his place. There were fourteen other judges. But in their time the people forgot [97] God, who had led them out of Egypt, and they began to serve devils. Then God was wroth, and delivered them over to the violence of the Gentiles. But when they repented, he had mercy upon them. When he had freed them, they returned nevertheless to the worship of devils.

"Next Eli the priest was judge, and after him, Samuel the prophet. The people said to Samuel, 'Give us a king.' Then the Lord was angered against Israel, and set Saul over them as King. But Saul would not walk in the law of the Lord, so the Lord chose David, and appointed him King over Israel. Now David found favor with God, and to him God swore that a God should be born of his lineage. Thus David began to prophesy concerning the incarnation of God, saying, 'I bore thee from my loins before the morning star.' (*Ps.* cx, 3.) He prophesied for forty years, and then died. After him, his son Solomon uttered prophecy. It was he who built a temple to God, and called it the Holy of Holies. He was a wise man, but in the end he fell from grace. He too reigned forty years and then died. After him reigned his son Rehoboam, and in his day the kingdom was divided into two parts, since the Jews lived in Jerusalem, and the other portion in Samaria.

"In Samaria reigned Rehoboam, son of Solomon, who made two golden calves, one of which he set up in Bethel on the hill, and the other in Dan, saying, 'These are your gods, oh Israel.' So the people worshipped them and forgot God. Likewise in Jerusalem they forgot God, and began to worship Baal, called the god of war, who is Ares, and they forgot the God of their fathers. Then God began to send [98] them prophets, and the prophets rebuked them for their iniquities, but when they were rebuked by the prophets, they killed them. Then God was wroth against Israel, and said, 'I shall cast you from me, I shall call other peoples to serve me. If they sin, I will not remember their iniquities.'

"So the Lord sent his prophets, saying to them, 'Prophesy of the rejection of the Jews and of the calling of the Gentiles.' Hosea was thus the first to prophesy, saying, 'I will cause the kingdom of the house of Israel to cease, I will break the bow of Israel, and I will no more have compassion on the house of Israel. But I will cast them off and reject them, saith the Lord, and they shall be wanderers among the nations.' (*Hos.* i, 4–6; ix, 17.) And Jeremiah said, 'If Samuel and Moses arise, I will not have mercy on them.' (*Jer.* xv, 1.) Further, Jeremiah said, 'Thus saith the Lord: "I have sworn by my great name that my name shall no more be mentioned henceforth by the lips of the Jews."' (*Jer.* xliv, 26.) Likewise Ezekiel said, 'Thus saith the Lord Jehovah: "I will scatter thee and the whole remnant of thee to all the winds, for that thou hast defiled my sanctuaries with thine abominations; I will reject thee and have no more mercy upon thee."' (*Ezek.* v, 10–11.)

"Malachi said, 'I have no pleasure in you, saith Jehovah. From the east to the west my name shall be glorified among the Gentiles. In every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering, for great is my name among the Gentiles. Wherefore I will deliver you into exile and to the scorn of all nations.' (*Mal.* i, 10–11; ii, 9.) The great Isaiah said, 'Thus saith the Lord: "I will stretch out my hand against [99] thee, I will destroy thee and scatter thee, and restore thee no more."' (*Is.* i, 25.) And further, 'I have hated your feasts and your new moons: your Sabbaths I will not accept.' (*Is.* i, 13–14.) Amos the prophet said, 'Hear the word of the Lord: "I will bring mourning upon you; the house of Israel has fallen and was not quick to arise."' (*Amos* v, 1–2.) Malachi said, 'Thus saith the Lord: "I will send upon you a curse, and will curse your blessing; I will destroy it, and it shall not be among you."' (*Mal.* ii, 2.)

"Many prophesied of their rejection, and to such prophets God gave his commandment to foretell the calling of other nations in their stead. Thus Isaiah called upon them, saying, 'Law shall go forth from me, and my judgment is the light of nations. My justice approaches quickly; it shall go forth, and in my arm shall the Gentiles hope.' (*Is.* li, 4–6.) Jeremiah said, 'Thus saith the Lord: "I will establish a new covenant for the house of Judah. I will give laws for their understanding, and write upon their hearts. I will be their God, and they shall be my people."' (*Jer.* xxi, 31–34.) Isaiah said, 'The old things are passed away, but I declare the new. Before their appearance, it has been revealed unto you. Sing unto the Lord a new song. Those who serve me shall be called by a new name, which shall be blessed throughout all the earth. My house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations.' (*Is.* xlii, 9–10; lvi, 5–7.) Likewise Isaiah said, 'The Lord will show his right arm before all nations, and all the ends of the earth shall see salvation from our God.' (*Is.* lii, 10.) And David, said 'Praise the Lord, all the nations, praise him, all ye people.' (*Ps.* cxviii, 1.)

"Since God so loved his new people, he promised [100] to descend among them himself, and to appear as a man in the flesh, and to suffer for the sin of Adam. Thus men began to prophesy concerning the incarnation of God. First David said, 'The Lord said unto my Lord: "Sit upon my right hand, until I shall set thine enemies as a footstool for thy feet."' (*Ps.* cx, 1.) And again, 'The Lord said unto me: "Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee."' (*Ps.* ii, 7.) And Isaiah said, 'No ambassador nor messenger, but God himself shall come to save us.' (*Is.* lxiii, 9.) And again, 'A child is born to us in whose arm there is authority, and he shall be called the great counsellor of the angels. Great is his might, and of his peace there is no end.' (*Is.* ix, 6.) And again, 'Behold, a maiden shall conceive in the womb, and shall bear a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel.' (*Is.* vii, 14.)

Micah said, 'Thou, Bethlehem Ephrathah, art scarcely to be of slight account among the thousands of Jews. For out of thee shall come forth a ruler to be their prince in Israel, and his going forth is from everlasting. Therefore he will scatter them till the time when the mother travails, and the rest of his brethren return to the sons of Israel.' (*Mic.* v, 2–3.) Jeremiah thus said, 'This is our God, and no other shall be compared with him. He has found all the way of wisdom, he has given it to Jacob his servant. Then he appeared on earth and lived among men.' (*Baruch*, iii, 35–38.) And again, 'Man exists. But who shall know how God exists or how man dies?' (*Jer.* xvii, 9.) Zechariah said, 'They have not heeded my son, and I will not give ear to them, saith the Lord.' (*Zech.* vii, 13.) Hosea said, 'Thus saith the Lord: "My flesh is from them."' (*Hos.* ix, 12.)

"Prophecies were likewise uttered also concerning his passion. [101] Thus Isaiah said, 'Woe to their souls! For they have counselled evil counsel, saying, "Let us kill the just man."' (*Is.* iii, 9–10.) Likewise he said, 'Thus saith the Lord: "I will not resist them nor speak against them. I offered my back to wounds and my countenance to blows, and I turned my face not away from shame and from spitting."' (*Is.* l, 5–6.) Jeremiah said, 'Come, let us destroy the tree with the fruit thereof, and cut him off from the land of the living.' (*Jer.* xii, 19.) Moses said of his crucifixion, 'Thy life shall hang in doubt before thee.' (*Deut.* xxviii, 66.) David said, 'Why are the nations stirred up?' (*Ps.* ii, 1.) And Isaiah said, 'He was led like a sheep to the slaughter.' (*Is.* liii, 7.) And Esdras said, 'Blessed be the Lord: he stretched out his hands and saved Jerusalem.' (?) They spoke also of the resurrection. David said, 'Rise up, oh Lord, judge the lands, for thou shalt inherit all the nations.' (*Ps.* lxxxii, 8.) And likewise, 'Then the Lord awaked as one out of sleep.' (*Ps.* lxxviii, 65.) And also, 'Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered.' (*Ps.* lxviii, 1.) Likewise, 'Arise, oh Jehovah; oh God, lift up thy hand.' (*Ps.* x, 12.) Isaiah said, 'Ye who walk into the land and the shadow of death, upon you shall shine the light.' (*Is.* ix, 2.) And Zechariah said, 'In the blood of thy covenant thou hast freed the captives from the waterless pit.' (*Zech.* ix, 11.) Many things were prophesied concerning him, all of which have been fulfilled."

Then Vladimir inquired, 'When was this fulfilled? Has it happened, or is it yet to occur?' The scholar answered him and said:

"All was accomplished when God was incarnate. [102] For, as I said before, when the Jews killed the prophets and their kings transgressed against the law, he gave them over to destruction, and they were led into captivity into Assyria because of their sins. They labored there seventy years. Then they returned to their native land, but had no king. Thus the high priests ruled over them until the time of the foreigner Herod, who reigned over them. During his reign, in the year 5500, the angel Gabriel was sent to Nazareth to the Virgin Mary, of the tribe of David. He said unto her, 'Rejoice, thou who art happy, the Lord is with thee.' In consequence of this annunciation, she conceived the Word of God in her womb, and bore a son, and called his name Jesus.

"Now behold, wise men came from the east, saying, 'Where is he that is born king of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him.' When King Herod heard this, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. And having called together the scribes and the elders of the people, he asked of them where the Christ should be born. They made reply, 'In Bethlehem of the Jews.' When Herod heard these words, he gave the command to slay all children under two years of age. So his soldiers went forth and killed the children. But in her fear, Mary hid the child, and Joseph, together with Mary, took the child and fled into Egypt, where they remained until the death of Herod. In Egypt, the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph, saying, 'Arise, take the child and his mother, and return to the land of Israel.'

[103] "When he thus returned, he settled in Nazareth. After the child grew up, and had reached the age of thirty years, he began to perform miracles, and to preach the kingdom of God. He chose twelve followers whom he called his disciples, and he began to work great marvels: to raise the dead, to cleanse lepers, to heal the lame, to give sight to the blind, and to perform many miracles, even as the prophets had foretold concerning him, saying, 'He healed our sicknesses and cured our diseases.' (*Is.* liii, 4.) He was baptized by John in the Jordan, showing regeneration to mankind. When he was baptized, behold, the heavens were opened, and the Spirit descended upon him in the form of a dove, and a voice said, 'This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased.'

"He sent out his disciples to preach the kingdom of God and repentance for the remission of sins. Desirous of fulfilling the prophecy, he began to preach how the Son of Man should suffer, be crucified, and rise again on the third day. While he was teaching in the Temple, the high priests and the scribes, inspired by hatred, set out to kill him, and after taking him captive, they led him before Pilate, the governor. When Pilate discovered that they had arrested him without a charge, he desired to release him, but they said, 'If you release this man, you cannot be a friend of Caesar.' Pilate then commanded that they should crucify him. So they led him to the Place of the Skull, and crucified him there. And darkness was over all the earth from the sixth hour until the ninth, and at the ninth hour, Jesus gave up the ghost. The Veil of the Temple was rent in twain, and many dead arose, whom [104] he bade depart to Paradise.

"When they took him from the Cross, they laid him in a tomb, and the Jews sealed the tomb with a seal, and stationed guards there, saying, 'Perhaps his disciples will steal him away.' Then, upon the third day, he arose, and having arisen from the dead, he appeared to his disciples, saying to them, 'Go among all the nations, and teach all peoples baptism in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost.' He remained with them forty days, appearing to them after the Resurrection. When the forty days had elapsed, he bade them go to the Mount of Olives, and there he appeared to them and blessed them, saying, 'Remain in the city of Jerusalem until I send the promise of my Father.' Having thus spoken, he ascended into heaven. They worshipped him, and returned to Jerusalem, where they gathered together in the Temple. When fifty days were passed, the Holy Spirit descended upon the Apostles. After they had received the promise of the Holy Spirit, they separated throughout the world, teaching and baptizing with water.

Then Vladimir said, 'Wherefore was he born of woman, and crucified on the tree, and baptized with water?' The scholar answered:

"Since the human race first sinned through woman, when the devil misled Adam through the agency of Eve so that he was deprived of Paradise, God for this reason avenged himself on the devil. Because of the first woman, victory fell to the devil's lot, for it was through woman that Adam fell from Paradise. But after being incarnate by a woman, God made the faithful enter into Paradise. God suffered pain upon the tree in order that the devil might be conquered by the tree, and that the righteous might taste of the tree of life. [105] As to the regeneration by water: since in the time of Noah, when sin multiplied among men, God brought the flood upon the earth and drowned mankind with its waters, God said, 'Inasmuch as I destroyed mankind with water because of their sins, I will now wash away the sins of man once more through the regeneration by water.' For the Jewish people were cleansed by the sea from the evil custom of the Egyptians, since water was in the beginning the primary element. For it is said, 'The Spirit of God hovered over the face of the waters.' Thus men are now baptized with water and the Spirit.

"The first transfiguration was accomplished by means of water, as Gideon performed it. For when the angel came to him and bade him attack the Midianites, he laid a fleece upon the ground, and to test God, Gideon said, 'Let there be dew on the whole earth, but let the fleece remain dry.' And it was so. This miracle signifies that the Gentiles were formerly dry, while the Jews were wet, and how afterward there was dew, that is, baptism, among the Gentiles, while dryness prevailed among the Jews. For the prophets had foretold that regeneration should be accomplished by means of water.

"Now that the Apostles have taught men throughout the world to believe in God, we Greeks have inherited their teaching, and the world believes therein. God hath appointed a day, in which he shall come from heaven to judge both the quick and the dead, and to render to each according to his deeds: to the righteous, the kingdom of heaven and ineffable beauty, bliss without end, and eternal life; but to sinners, the torments of hell and a worm that sleeps not, [106] and of their torment there shall be no end. Such shall be the penalties for those who do not believe in our Lord Jesus Christ. The unbaptized shall be tormented with fire."

As he spoke thus, he exhibited to Vladimir a canvas on which was depicted the Judgment Day of the Lord, and showed him, on the right, the righteous going to their bliss in Paradise, and on the left, the sinners on their way to torment. Then Vladimir sighed and said, 'Happy are they upon the right, but woe to those upon the left!' The scholar replied, 'If you desire to take your place upon the right with the just, then accept baptism.' Vladimir took this counsel to heart, saying 'I shall wait yet a little longer,' for he wished to inquire about all the faiths. Vladimir then gave the scholar many gifts, and dismissed him with great honor.

6495 (987). Vladimir summoned together his vassals and the city-elders, and said to them, "Behold, the Bulgarians came before me urging me to accept their religion. Then came the Germans and praised their own faith; and after them came the Jews. Finally the Greeks appeared, criticizing all other faiths but commending their own, and they spoke at length, telling the history of the whole world from its beginning. Their words were artful, and it was wondrous to listen and pleasant to hear them. They preach the existence of another world. 'Whoever adopts our religion and then dies shall arise and live forever. But whosoever embraces another faith, shall be consumed with fire in the next world.' [107] What is your opinion on this subject, and what do you answer?" The vassals and the elders replied, "You know, oh Prince, that no man condemns his own possessions, but praises them instead. If you desire to make certain, you have servants at your disposal. Send them to inquire about the ritual of each and how he worships God."

Their counsel pleased the prince and all the people, so that they chose good and wise men to the number of ten, and directed them to go first among the Bulgarians and inspect their faith. The emissaries went their way, and when they arrived at their destination they beheld the disgraceful actions of the Bulgarians and their worship in the mosque; then they returned to their own country. Vladimir then instructed them to go likewise among the Germans, and examine their faith, and finally to visit the Greeks. They thus went into Germany, and after viewing the German ceremonial, they proceeded to Tsargrad, where they appeared before the Emperor. He inquired on what mission they had come, and they reported to him all that had occurred. When the Emperor heard their words, he rejoiced, and did them great honor on that very day.

On the morrow, the Emperor sent a message to the Patriarch to inform him that a Russian delegation had arrived to examine the Greek faith, and directed him to prepare the church and the clergy, and to array himself in his sacerdotal robes, so that the Russes might behold the glory of the God of the Greeks. When the Patriarch received these commands, he bade the clergy assemble, and they performed the customary rites. They burned incense, and the choirs sang hymns. The Emperor accompanied the Russes to the church, and placed them in a wide space, calling their attention to the beauty of the edifice, the chanting, and the offices of the archpriest and the ministry of the deacons, while he explained to them the worship of his God. The Russes were astonished, [108] and in their wonder praised the Greek ceremonial. Then the Emperors Basil and Constantine invited the envoys to their presence, and said, "Go hence to your native country," and thus dismissed them with valuable presents and great honor.

Thus they returned to their own country, and the Prince called together his vassals and the elders. Vladimir then announced the return of the envoys who had been sent out, and suggested that their report be heard. He thus commanded them to speak out before his vassals. The envoys reported, "When we journeyed among the Bulgarians, we beheld how they worship in their temple, called a mosque, while they stand ungirt. The Bulgarian bows, sits down, looks hither and thither like one possessed, and there is no happiness among them, but instead only sorrow and a dreadful stench. Their religion is not good. Then we went among the Germans, and saw them performing many ceremonies in their temples; but we beheld no glory there. Then we went on to Greece, and the Greeks led us to the edifices where they worship their God, and we knew not whether we were in heaven or on earth. For on earth there is no such splendor or such beauty, and we are at a loss how to describe it. We only know that God dwells there among men, and their service is fairer than the ceremonies of other nations. For we cannot forget that beauty. Every man, after tasting something sweet, is afterward unwilling to accept that which is bitter, and therefore we cannot dwell longer here." Then the vassals spoke and said, "If the Greek faith were evil, it would not have been adopted by your grandmother Olga, who was wiser than all other men." Vladimir then inquired where they should all accept baptism, and they replied that the decision rested with him.

[109] After a year had passed, in 6496 (988), Vladimir marched with an armed force against Kherson, a Greek city, and the people of Kherson barricaded themselves therein. Vladimir halted at the farther side of the city beside the bay, a bowshot from the town, and the inhabitants resisted energetically while Vladimir besieged the town. Eventually, however, they became exhausted, and Vladimir warned them that if they did not surrender, he would remain on the spot for three years. When they failed to heed this threat, Vladimir marshaled his troops and ordered the construction of an earthwork in the direction of the city. While this work was under construction, the inhabitants dug a tunnel under the city-wall, stole the heaped-up earth, and carried it into the city, where they piled it up in the centre of the town. But the soldiers kept on building, and Vladimir persisted. Then a man of Kherson, Anastasius by name, shot into the Russ camp an arrow on which he had written, "There are springs behind you to the east, from which water flows in pipes. Dig down and cut them off." When Vladi-

mir received this information, he raised his eyes to heaven and vowed that if this hope was realized, he would be baptized. He gave orders straightway to dig down above the pipes, and the water-supply was thus cut off. The inhabitants were accordingly overcome by thirst, and surrendered.

Vladimir and his retinue entered the city, and he sent messages to the Emperors Basil and Constantine, saying, "Behold, I have captured your glorious city. I have also heard that you have an unwedded sister. Unless you give her to me to wife, [110] I shall deal with your own city as I have with Kherson." When the Emperors heard this message, they were troubled, and replied, "It is not meet for Christians to give in marriage to pagans. If you are baptized, you shall have her to wife, inherit the kingdom of God, and be our companion in the faith. Unless you do so, however, we cannot give you our sister in marriage." When Vladimir learned their response, he directed the envoys of the Emperors to report to the latter that he was willing to accept baptism, having already given some study to their religion, and that the Greek faith and ritual, as described by the emissaries sent to examine it, had pleased him well. When the Emperors heard this report, they rejoiced, and persuaded their sister Anna to consent to the match. They then requested Vladimir to submit to baptism before they should send their sister to him, but Vladimir desired that the princess should herself bring priests to baptize him. The Emperors complied with his request, and sent forth their sister, accompanied by some dignitaries and priests. Anna, however, departed with reluctance. "It is as if I were setting out into captivity," she lamented; "better were it for me to die here." But her brothers protested, "Through your agency God turns the land of Rus to repentance, and you will relieve Greece from the danger of grievous war. Do you not see how much evil the Russes have already brought upon the Greeks? If you do not set out, they may bring on us the same misfortunes." It was thus that they overcame her hesitation only with great difficulty. The Princess embarked upon a ship, and after tearfully embracing her kinsfolk, [111] she set forth across the sea and arrived at Kherson. The natives came forth to greet her, and conducted her into the city, where they settled her in the palace.

By divine agency, Vladimir was suffering at that moment from a disease of the eyes, and could see nothing, being in great distress. The Princess declared to him that if he desired to be relieved of this disease, he should be baptized with all speed, otherwise it could not be cured. When Vladimir heard her message, he said, "If this proves true, then of a surety is the God of the Christians great," and gave order that he should be baptized. The Bishop of Kherson, together with the Princess's priests, after announcing the tidings, baptized Vladimir, and as the Bishop laid his hand upon him, he straightway received his sight. Upon experiencing this miraculous cure, Vladimir glorified God, saying, "I have now perceived the one true God." When his followers beheld this miracle, many of them were also baptized.

Vladimir was baptized in the Church of St Basil, which stands at Kherson upon a square in the centre of the city, where the Khersonians trade. The palace of Vladimir stands beside this church to this day, and the palace of the Princess is behind the altar. After his baptism, Vladimir took the Princess in marriage. Those who do not know the truth say he was baptized in Kiev, while others assert this event took place in Vasiliev, while still others mention other places.

After Vladimir was baptized, [112] the priests explained to him the tenets of the Christian faith, urging him to avoid the deceit of heretics by adhering to the following creeds:

I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth; and also: I believe in one God, the Father, who is unborn, and in the only Son, who is born, and in one Holy Ghost emanating therefrom: three complete and thinking persons, divisible in number and personality, but not in divinity; for they are separate without distinction and united without confusion. God, the Father Everlasting, abides in Fatherhood, unbegotten, without beginning, himself the beginning and the cause of all things. Because he is unbegotten, he is older than the Son and the Spirit. From him the Son was born before all worlds, and from him the Holy Ghost emanates intemporally and incorporeally. He is simultaneously Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

The Son, being like the Father, is distinguished from the Father and the Spirit in that he was born. The Spirit is Holy, like to the Father and the Son, and is everlasting. The Father possesses Fatherhood, the Son Sonship, and the Holy Ghost Emanation. For the Father is not transformed into the Son or the Spirit, nor the Son to the Father and the Spirit, nor the Spirit to the Son and the Father, since their attributes are invariable. Not three Gods, but one God, since there is one divinity in three Persons.

In consequence of the desire of the Father and the Spirit to save his creation, he went out of the bosom of the Father, yet without leaving it, to the [113] pure womb of a Virgin, as the seed of God. Entering into her, he took on animated, vocal, and thinking flesh which had not previously existed, came forth God incarnate, and was ineffably born, while his Mother preserved her virginity immaculate. Suffering neither combination, nor confusion, nor alteration, he remained as he was, became what he was not, and assumed the aspect of a slave in truth, not in semblance, being similar to us in every respect except in sin.

Voluntarily he was born, voluntarily he suffered want, voluntarily he thirsted, voluntarily he endured, voluntarily he feared, voluntarily he died in truth and not in semblance. All these were genuine and unimpeachable human sufferings. He gave himself up to be crucified. Though immortal, he tasted death. He arose in the flesh without knowing corruption; he ascended into Heaven, and sat upon the right hand of the Father. And as he ascended in glory and in the flesh, so shall he descend once more.

Moreover, I acknowledge one baptism of water and the Spirit, I approach the Holy Mysteries, I believe in the True Body and Blood, I accept the traditions of the Church, and I worship the Sacred Images. I revere the Holy Tree and every Cross, the Sacred Relics, and the Sacred Vessels.

Believe also, they said, in the seven councils of the Church: the first at Nicaea, composing three hundred and eighteen Fathers, who cursed Arius and proclaimed the immaculate and orthodox faith; the second at Constantinople, attended by one hundred and fifty Fathers, who anathematized Macedonius (who condemned the Holy Spirit), and proclaimed the oneness of the Trinity; [114] the third at Ephesus, comprising two hundred Fathers, against Nestorius, whom they cursed, while they also proclaimed the sanctity of the Mother of God; the fourth council of six hundred and thirty Fathers, held at Chalcedon, to condemn Eutychius and Dioscorus, whom the Holy Fathers cursed after they had proclaimed the Perfect God and the Perfect Man, our Lord Jesus Christ; the fifth council of one hundred and sixty-five Fathers, held at Constantinople, which was directed against the teachings of Origen and Evagrius, whom the Fathers anathematized; the sixth council of one hundred and seventy Holy Fathers, likewise held at Constantinople, which condemned Sergius and Cyrus, whom the Holy Fathers cursed; and the seventh council, comprising three hundred and fifty Holy Fathers, which was held at Nicaea, and cursed those who do not worship images.

Do not accept the teachings of the Latins, whose instruction is vicious. For when they enter the church, they do not kneel before the images, but they stand upright before kneeling, and when they have knelt, they trace a cross upon the ground and then kiss it, but they stand upon it when they arise. Thus while prostrate they kiss it, and yet upon arising they trample it underfoot. Such is not the tradition of the Apostles. For the Apostles prescribed the kissing of an upright cross, and also prescribed the use of images. For the Evangelist Luke painted the first image and sent it to Rome. As Basil has said, the honor rendered to the image redounds to its original. Furthermore, they call the earth their mother. If the earth is their mother, then heaven is their father, for in the beginning God made heaven and earth. Yet they say, "Our Father which art in Heaven." If, according to their understanding, the earth is their mother, why do they spit upon [115] their mother, and pollute her whom they caress?

In earlier times, the Romans did not so act, but took part in all the Councils, gathering together from Rome and all other sees. At the first Council in Nicaea, directed against Arius, Sylvester sent bishops and priests from Rome, as did Athanasius from Alexandria; and Metrophanes also despatched his bishops from Constantinople. Thus they corrected the faith. At the second council were present Damasus of Rome, Timotheus of Alexandria, Meletius of Antioch, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Gregory the Theologian. In the third Council participated Celestinus of Rome, Cyril of Alexandria, Juvenalius of Jerusalem. At the fourth council were present Leontius of Rome, Anatolius of Constantinople, and Juvenalius of Jerusalem; and at the fifth, Vigilius of Rome, Eutychius of Constantinople, Apollinarius of Alexandria, and Domnus of Antioch. At the sixth council were present Agathon of Rome, Georgius of Constantinople, Theophanes of Antioch, and Peter the Monk of Alexandria; at the seventh, Adrian of Rome, Tarasius of Constantinople, Politian of Alexandria, Theodoret of Antioch, and Elias of Jerusalem. These Fathers, with the assistance of the bishops, corrected the faith.

After the seventh council, Peter the Stammerer came with others to Rome and corrupted the faith, seizing the Holy See. [116] He then seceded from the dioceses of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Antioch. His partisans disturbed all Italy, disseminating their teaching in various terms. For some of these priests who conduct services are married to one wife, and others are married to seven.

Avoid their doctrine; for they absolve sins against money payments, which is the worst abuse of all. God guard you from this evil, oh Prince!

Hereupon Vladimir took the Princess and Anastasius and the priests of Kherson, together with the relics of St Clement and of Phoebus his disciple, and selected also sacred vessels and images for the service. In Kherson he thus founded a church on the mound which had been heaped up in the midst of the city with the earth removed from his embankment; this church is standing at the present day. Vladimir also found and appropriated two bronze statues and four bronze horses, which now stand behind the Church of the Holy Virgin, and which the ignorant think are made of marble. As a wedding present for the Princess, he gave Kherson over to the Greeks again, and then departed for Kiev.

When the Prince arrived at his capital, he directed that the idols should be overthrown, and that some should be cut to pieces and others burned with fire. He thus ordered that Perun should be bound to a horse's tail and dragged along Borichev to the river. He appointed twelve men to beat the idol with sticks, not because he thought the wood was sensitive, but to affront the demon who had deceived man in this guise, [117] that he might receive chastisement at the hands of men. Great art thou, oh Lord, and marvelous are thy works! Yesterday he was honored of men, but today held in derision. While the idol was being dragged along the stream to the Dnieper, the unbelievers wept over it, for they had not yet received holy baptism. After they had thus dragged the idol along, they cast it into the Dnieper. But Vladimir had given this injunction, "If it halts anywhere, then push it out from the bank, until it goes over the falls. Then let it loose." His command was duly obeyed. When the men let the idol go, and it passed through the falls, the wind cast it out on the bank, which since that time has been called Perun's Shore, a name that it bears to this very day.

Thereafter Vladimir sent heralds throughout the whole city to proclaim that if any inhabitant, rich or poor, did not betake himself to the river, he would risk the Prince's displeasure. When the people heard these words, they wept for joy, and exclaimed in their enthusiasm, "If this were not good, the Prince and his boyars would not have accepted it." On the morrow, the Prince went forth to the Dnieper with the priests of the Princess and those from Kherson, and a countless multitude assembled. They all went into the water: some stood up to their necks, others to their breasts, the younger near the bank, some of them holding children in their arms, while the adults waded farther out. The priests stood by and offered prayers. There was joy [118] in heaven and upon earth to behold so many souls saved. But the devil groaned, lamenting, "Woe is me! how am I driven out hence! For I thought to have my dwelling-place here, since the apostolic teachings do not abide in this land. Nor did this people know God, but I rejoiced in the service they rendered unto me. But now I am vanquished by the ignorant, not by apostles and martyrs, and my reign in these regions is at an end."

When the people were baptized, they returned each to his own abode. Vladimir, rejoicing that he and his subjects now knew God himself, looked up to heaven and said, "Oh God, who hast created heaven and earth, look down, I beseech thee, on this thy new people, and grant them, oh Lord, to know thee as the true God, even as the other Christian nations have known thee. Confirm in them the true and inalterable faith, and aid me, oh Lord, against the hostile adversary, so that, hoping in thee and in thy might, I may overcome his malice." Having spoken thus, he ordained that churches should be built and established where pagan idols had previously stood. He thus founded the Church of St Basil on the hill where the idol of Perun and the other images had been set, and where the Prince and the people had offered their sacrifices. He began to found churches and to assign priests throughout the cities, and to invite the people to accept baptism in all the cities and towns.

He took the children of the best families, and sent them to schools for instruction [119] in book-learning. The mothers of these children wept bitterly over them, for they were not yet strong in faith, but mourned as for the dead. When these children were assigned for study, there was thus fulfilled in the land of Rus the prophecy which says, "In those days, the deaf shall hear words of Scripture, and the voice of the stammerers shall be made plain." (*Is.* xxix, 18.) For these persons had not ere this heard words of Scripture, and now heard them only by the act of God, for in his mercy the Lord took pity upon them, even as the Prophet said, "I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious." (*Ex.* xxxiii, 19.)

He had mercy upon us in the baptism of life and the renewal of the spirit, following the will of God and not according to our deeds.

Blessed be the Lord Jesus Christ, who loved his new people, the land of Rus, and illumined them with holy baptism. Thus we bend the knee before him saying, "Lord Jesus Christ, what reward shall we return thee for all that thou hast given us, sinners that we are? We cannot requite thy gifts, for great art thou, and marvelous are thy works. Of thy majesty there is no end. Generation after generation shall praise thy acts." (*Ps.* cxlv, 4–5.)

Thus I say with David, "Come, let us rejoice in the Lord, let us call upon God and our Savior. Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving, praising him because he is good, for his mercy endureth forever, since he hath saved us from our enemies, even from vain idols." (*Ps.* xcv, 1–2; cxxxvi, 1, 24.) And let us once more say with David, "Sing unto the Lord a new song, sing unto the Lord, all the earth! Sing unto the Lord, praise his name: tell his salvation from day to day. Declare his glory among the heathen, his wonders among all nations. (*Ps.* xcvi, 1–4.) For the Lord is great and greatly praised, [120] and of his majesty there is no end." (*Ps.* clv, 3.) What joy! Not one or two only are saved. For the Lord said, "There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth." (*Matt.* xv, 10.) Here not merely one or two, but an innumerable multitude came to God, illumined by holy baptism. As the Prophet said, "I will sprinkle water upon you, and ye shall be purified of your idols and your sins." (*Ezek.* xxxvi, 25.) Another Prophet said likewise, "Who like to God taketh away sins and remitteth transgressions? For he is willingly merciful: he turneth his gaze upon us and sinketh our sins in the abyss." (*Mic.* vii, 18–19.) For Paul says, "Brethren, as many of us as were baptized in Jesus Christ were baptized in his death, and with him, through baptism, we were planted in death, in order that, as Christ rose from the dead in the glory of the Father, we also might likewise walk in newness of life." (*Rom.* vi, 3.) And again, "The old things have passed away, and new are made (*II Cor.* v, 7); now hath approached our salvation, the night hath passed, the day is at hand." (*Rom.* xiii, 12.) "Thus we obtained access through faith into this grace of which we are proud and through which we exist." (*Rom.* v, 2.) "Now, being freed from sin, and having become servants of the Lord, ye have your fruit in holiness." (*Rom.* vi, 20.)

We are therefore bound to serve the Lord, rejoicing in him, for David said, "Serve the Lord with fear and rejoice in him with trembling." (*Ps.* ii, 11.) We call upon the Lord our God, saying, "Blessed be the

Lord, who gave us not as a prey to their teeth. The net was broken, and we were freed from the crafts of the devil. His glory has perished noisily, but the Lord endures forever, glorified by the sons of Rus, and praised in the Trinity." But the demons [121] are accursed of pious men and righteous women, who have received baptism and repentance for the remission of sins, and thus form a new Christian people, the elect of God.

Vladimir was enlightened, and his sons and his country with him. For he had twelve sons: Vysheslav, Izyaslav, Yaroslav, Svyatopolk, Vsevolod, Svyatoslav, Mstislav, Boris, Gleb, Stanislav, Pozvizd, and Sudislav. He set up Vysheslav in Novgorod, Izyaslav in Polotzk, Svyatopolk in Turov, and Yaroslav in Rostov. When Vysheslav, the oldest, died in Novgorod, he set Yaroslav over Novgorod, Boris over Rostov, Gleb over Murom, Svyatoslav over Dereva, Vsevolod over Vladimir, and Mstislav over Tmutorakan. Then Vladimir reflected that it was not good that there were so few towns round about Kiev, so he founded cities on the Desna, the Oster, the Trubezh, the Sula, and the Stugna. He gathered together the best men of the Slavs, the Krivichians, the Chuds, and the Vyatichians, and peopled these towns with them. For he was at war with the Pechenegs, and when he fought with them, he often overcame them.

6497 (989). After these events, Vladimir lived in the Christian faith. With the intention of building a church dedicated to the Holy Virgin, he sent and imported artisans from Greece. After he had begun to build, and the structure was completed, he adorned it with images, and entrusted it to Anastasius of Kherson. He appointed Khersonian priests [122] to serve in it, and bestowed upon this church all the images, vessels, and crosses which he had taken in that city.

6499 (991). Vladimir founded the city of Byelgorod, and peopled it from other towns, bringing to it many settlers. For he was extremely fond of this city.

6500 (992). Vladimir attacked the Croats. When he had returned from the Croatian War, the Pechenegs arrived on the opposite side of the Dnieper from the direction of the Sula. Vladimir set forth against them, and encountered them on the banks of the Trubezh, where Pereyaslavl now stands. Vladimir took up his position on the near side, and the Pechenegs theirs on the other, and the Russes did not venture to the farther shore any more than their foes did to this side of the river. The prince of the Pechenegs came down to the river bank, and calling to Vladimir, proposed to him, "Send one of your warriors, and I will detail one of mine, that they may do battle together. If your vassal conquers mine, let us not fight together for three years to come. But if our champion wins, let us fight three years in succession." Then each prince returned to his own force.

Vladimir returned to his camp, and sent heralds through it to inquire whether there was no man who would fight with the champion of the Pechenegs. But none was found anywhere. On the morrow, the Pechenegs arrived, bringing their champion; but on our side, there was none. Vladimir now began to be concerned as he sought a champion throughout his whole army. Then there came to the Prince an old man who said to him, "Oh Prince, I have a younger son at home. I came forth with four others, [123] but he abides by the hearth. Since his childhood, there has been no man who could vanquish him. One day, when I reprimanded him while he was tanning a hide, he flew into a rage at me and tore the leather to bits in his hands." When the Prince heard these words, he rejoiced, and summoned the youth. So he was brought before the Prince, and the Prince informed him of all that had occurred. Then the youth said, "Oh Prince, I know not whether I be capable of this feat; wherefore let them test me. Is there no large and strong bull hereabouts?" Such a bull was soon found, and he directed them to anger the animal. The men put hot irons on him, and then let him go. The bull ran past the youth, and he seized the beast's flank with his hand. He thus pulled off the skin along with as much flesh as he could grasp. Then Vladimir remarked, "You are well qualified to do combat with the champion."

On the morrow the Pechenegs approached, and began to shout, "Is there no champion available? See, ours is ready!" Vladimir had given orders that night to rest upon their arms, and at dawn the two champions went forth. The Pechenegs had sent out their man, who was gigantic and fearsome. Vladimir sent forward his champion, and when the Pecheneg saw him, he laughed, for he was of but moderate size. A space was duly measured off between the two armies, and the warriors were allowed to attack each other. They came to grips, and seized upon each other with violence. But the Russ crushed the Pecheneg to death in his arms, and cast him upon the ground. The Russes raised a cheer, and the Pechenegs took to flight. The Russes pursued them, cut them down, and drove them away. In his joy, Vladimir founded a city on this river bank, [124] and called it Pereyaslavl, because this youth had won glory there. Vladimir made him and his father great men, and then returned to Kiev with victory and great renown.

6502–6504 (994–996). Vladimir, upon seeing his church completed, entered it and prayed to God, saying, "Lord God! Look down from heaven, behold and visit thy vineyard, and perfect what thy right hand has begun. Make these new people, whose heart thou hast turned unto wisdom, to know thee as the true God. Look upon this thy church which I, thine unworthy servant, have builded in the name of the Ever-Virgin Mother of God who bore thee. Through the intercession of the Immaculate Virgin, hear the supplication of whoseover shall pray in this church." After he had offered this prayer, he added, "I bestow upon this church of the Holy Virgin a tithe of my property and of my cities." Then he wrote out a donation and deposited it in the church, declaring, "If anyone violates this promise, may he be accursed." So he gave the tithe to Anastasius of Kherson, and made a great festival on that day for the boyars and elders of the people, distributing also much largess to the poor.

Then the Pechenegs came to Vasiliev, and Vladimir went forth against them with a small company. When the troops met, he could not withstand the enemy, so he fled, and took position [125] under a bridge, where he concealed himself with difficulty from the foe. Then the Prince vowed to build a church of the Sacred Transfiguration in Vasilievo, for it was upon the day of the Lord's Transfiguration that this battle took place. After he had thus escaped, Vladimir founded the church, and made ready a great festival, for which he caused to be brewed three hundred kettles of mead. He summoned his boyars, his lieutenants, the elders throughout the cities, and many other people, and distributed to the poor the sum of three hundred *grivni*. When the Prince had thus celebrated for eight days, he returned to Kiev on the feast of the Assumption of the Holy Mother of God. There also he held a great festival, and gathered together a countless multitude of people.

When he saw that the people were Christians, he rejoiced in soul and body, and celebrated likewise every year. For he loved the words of the Scriptures, and on one occasion he had heard read in the Gospel, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy" (*Matt.* v, 7); and further, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth corrupts and thieves steal; but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth corrupts nor thieves steal." (*Ibid.* vi, 19.)

And David said, "Blessed is he that considereth the poor." (*Ps.* xli, 1.) Vladimir listened also to the words of Solomon: "He that giveth unto the poor lendeth unto the Lord." (*Prov.* xix, 17.) When he heard these words, he invited each beggar and poor man to come to the Prince's palace and receive whatever he needed, both food and drink, and marten-skins from the treasury.

With the thought that the weak and the sick could not easily reach his palace, he arranged that [126] wagons should be brought in, and after having them loaded with bread, meat, fish, various fruits, mead in casks, and kvass, he ordered them driven out through the city. The drivers were under instruction to call out, "Where is there a poor man or a beggar who cannot walk?" To such they distributed according to their necessities. Moreover, he caused a feast to be prepared each week in his palace for his subjects, and invited the boyars, the court officers, the centurians, the decurions, and the distinguished citizens, either in the presence of the Prince or in his absence. There was much meat, beef, and game, and an abundance of all victuals. On one occasion, however, after the guests were drunk, they began to grumble against the prince, complaining that they were mistreated because he allowed them to eat with wooden spoons instead of silver ones. When Vladimir heard of their complaint, he ordered that silver spoons should be moulded for his retinue to eat with, remarking that with silver and gold he could not secure a retinue, but that with a retinue he was in a position to win these treasures, even as his grandfather and his father had sought riches with their followers. For Vladimir was fond of his followers, and consulted them concerning matters of administration, wars, and government. He lived at peace with the neighboring Princes, Boleslav of Poland, Stephen of Hungary, and Udalrich of Bohemia, and there was amity and friendship among them.

While Vladimir was thus dwelling in the fear of God, the number of bandits increased, and the bishops, calling to his attention the multiplication of robbers, [127] inquired why he did not punish them. The Prince answered that he feared the sin entailed. They replied that he was appointed of God for the chastisement of malefactors and for the practice of mercy toward the righteous, so that it was entirely fitting for him to punish a robber condignly, but only after due process of law. Vladimir accordingly abolished wergild and set out to punish the brigands. The bishops and the elders then suggested that as wars were frequent, the wergild might be properly spent for the purchase of arms and horses, to which Vladimir assented. Thus Vladimir lived according to the prescriptions of his father and his grandfather.

6505 (997). When Vladimir went to Novgorod after upland troops with which to fight the Pechenegs (for there was desperate and constant conflict with them), the latter, on perceiving that for the moment there was no prince at hand, came and beset Byelgorod. They allowed no sally from the city, and great famine prevailed. Vladimir could not bring succor, for he had no troops with him, and the number of the Pechenegs was great. The siege was thus prolonged, and the famine grew increasingly severe. The inhabitants thus held a council in the city, and said among themselves, "We are about to die of hunger, and no aid is to be expected from the Prince. Is it not better to die? Let us surrender to the Pechenegs, and let them spare some, though they kill others. We are perishing of famine as it is." Thus they came to a decision. But one old man was not present at the council, and inquired what it was about. The people told him that on the morrow they would surrender to the Pechenegs. Upon hearing this decision, he summoned the city-elders, and remarked that he understood [128] they intended to surrender to the nomads. They replied that the people would not endure famine. Then the ancient said, "Listen to me: do not surrender for three days, and do as I tell you." They gladly promised to obey, and he directed them to collect a measure of oats, wheat, or beans. They gladly went in search of these supplies. Then he bade the women prepare the liquid with which they brew porridge, and ordered them to dig a pit. In this pit he bade them place a tub, and to pour the liquid into the tub. Then he ordered them to dig a second pit, and place a tub in the latter likewise. He next commanded them to bring honey, so they fetched a basket of honey that was stored in the Prince's storeroom. He then bade them dilute it greatly, and to pour it into the tub in the other pit.

Upon the morrow, he directed them to send messengers to the Pechenegs. The citizens went forth to the Pechenegs, and offered them hostages, so that ten of the nomads should come into the city to see what was happening in their town. The Pechenegs rejoiced, thinking that they wished to surrender. They therefore accepted the hostages, and selected the chief men of their own party, whom they sent into the city to look over the town and learn what was occurring. The Pecheneg representatives entered the town, and the inhabitants said to them, "Why do you waste your strength? You cannot overcome us if you besiege us for ten years. We secure our sustenance from the earth. If you do not believe it, behold it with your own eyes." They thus conducted the Pecheneg envoys to the pit [129] where the brew was, then drew some up in a pail and poured it into pots. After they had brewed porridge, they conducted the Pechenegs to the other pit. They hauled up the buckets, and after eating from them themselves, offered them to the Pechenegs. The latter were astonished, and exclaimed, "Our princes will not believe this marvel, unless they eat of the food themselves." So they poured out a bowl of brew and buckets of mead from the pits, and gave them to the Pechenegs, who returned to their camp and recounted all that had happened. After brewing the porridge, the Pecheneg princes ate it, and were amazed, and upon recovering their own hostages and returning those given by the city, they raised the siege and returned home.

6508 (1000). Malfred died. In this year died also Rogned, Yaroslav's mother.

6509 (1001). In this year died Izyaslav, son of Vladimir and father of Bryachislav.

6510–6511 (1002–1003). In this year died Vseslav, son of Izyaslav and grandson of Vladimir.

6512–6515 (1004–1007). The saints were brought to the Church of the Holy Virgin.

6516–6519 (1008–1011). The Princess Anna, wife of Vladimir, passed away.

[130] 6520–6522 (1012–1014). When Yaroslav was in Novgorod, he paid two thousand *grivni* a year as tribute to Kiev, and distributed one thousand to his courtiers in Novgorod. All the viceroys of Novgorod had always paid like sums, but Yaroslav ceased to render this amount to his father. Then Vladimir exclaimed, "Repair the road and build a bridge," for he purposed to attack his son Yaroslav, but he fell ill.

6523 (1015). While Vladimir was desirous of attacking Yaroslav, the latter sent overseas and imported Varangian reinforcements, since he feared his father's advance. But God will not give the devil any satisfaction. For when Vladimir fell ill, Boris was with him at the time. Since the Pechenegs were attacking the Russes, he sent Boris out against them, for he himself was very sick, and of this illness he died on July 15. Now he died at Berestovoye, but his death was kept secret, for Svyatopolk was in Kiev. But at night his companions took up the flooring between two rooms, and after wrapping the body in a rug, they let it down to the earth with ropes. After they had placed it upon a sledge, they took it away and buried it in the Church of the Virgin that Vladimir himself had built.

When the people heard of this, they assembled in multitudes and mourned him, the boyars as the defender of their country, the poor as their protector and benefactor. They laid him in a marble coffin, and preserved the body of the blessed Prince amid their mourning.

He is the new Constantine of mighty Rome, who baptized himself [131] and his subjects; for the Prince of Rus imitated the acts of Constantine himself. Even if he was formerly given to evil lusts, he afterward consecrated himself to repentance, according to the teaching of the Apostle that "when sin increases, there grace abounds the more." (*Rom.* v, 20.) Even if he had previously committed other crimes in his ignorance, he subsequently distinguished himself in repentance and almsgiving. As it is written, "As I shall find you, so shall I judge you." (*Wis.* xi, 17.) Thus the Prophet says, "As I the Lord Adonai live, I desire not the death of a sinner, but rather that he shall turn from his way and live; turn in repentance from your wicked way." (*Ezek.* xxxiii, 11.) For many of those who act justly and live in righteousness turn from the virtuous road to death and are destroyed; while others live unrighteously, yet are admonished before their deaths, and atone for their sins through laudable repentance.

Thus the Prophet says, "The righteousness of the righteous shall not save him in the day of his transgression. When I say to the righteous man, 'Thou shalt live,' if he trust to his righteousness and commit iniquity, all his righteousness shall not be remembered, and he shall die in the iniquity that he hath committed. And when I say to the wicked, 'Thou shalt die the death,' if he turn from his sin and perform equity and justice, restore his pledge, and give back what he hath stolen, then all his sins that he hath committed shall not be remembered, because he performed equity and justice, and in them shall he live. I shall judge each of you according to his way, oh house of Israel." (*Ezek.* xxxiii, 12–16, 20.)

Vladimir died in the orthodox faith. He effaced his sins by repentance and by almsgiving, which is better than all things else. For the Lord says, "I desire alms, and not a sacrifice." (*Matt.* ix, 13.) Alms are better and more exalted than all other things, since they lead us into the presence of God, even to heaven itself; as the angel said to

Cornelius, "Thy prayers and thy almsgivings are remembered before God." (*Acts*, x, 4.)

It is indeed marvelous what benefits Vladimir conferred upon the land of Rus by its conversion. But we, though Christians, do not render him honor in proportion to this benefaction. For if he had not converted us, we should now be a prey to the crafts of the devil, even as our ancestors perished. If we had been zealous for him, and had offered our prayers to God in his behalf upon the day of his death, then God, beholding our zeal, would have glorified him. It is fitting for us to pray God for his sake, inasmuch as through him we have come to know God. But may God grant thee according to thy heart's desire and fulfill all thy requests, giving thee the kingdom of heaven which thou didst desire! May God confer upon thee the crown among the righteous, happiness in paradisial sustenance, and association with Abraham and the other patriarchs! As Solomon said, "When a righteous man dieth, his hope is not lost." (*Prov.* xi, 7.) The people of Rus, mindful of their holy baptism, hold this Prince in pious memory, and glorify God in prayers and hymns and psalms, singing to God as his new people, enlightened by his Holy Spirit, maintaining the hope of our great God and of our Savior Jesus Christ, that He will give each one of us joy ineffable according to his labors. And may such be the lot of all Christians!

[132] Svyatopolk settled in Kiev after his father's death, and after calling together all the inhabitants of Kiev, he began to distribute largess among them. They accepted it, but their hearts were not with him, because their brethren were with Boris. When Boris returned with the army, after meeting the Pechenegs, he received the news that his father was dead. He mourned deeply for him, for he was beloved of his father before all the rest.

When he came to the Alta, he halted. His father's retainers then urged him to take his place in Kiev on his father's throne, since he had at his disposal the latter's retainers and troops. But Boris protested, "Be it not for me to raise my hand against my elder brother. Now that my father has passed away, let him take the place of my father in my heart." When the soldiery heard these words, they departed from him, and Boris remained with his servants.

But Svyatopolk was filled with lawlessness. Adopting the device of Cain, he sent messages to Boris that he desired to live at peace with him, and would increase the territory he had received from his father.

But he plotted against him how he might kill him. So Svyatopolk came by night to Vyshegorod. After secretly summoning to his presence Putsha and the boyars of the town, he inquired of them whether they were wholeheartedly devoted to him. Putsha and the men of Vyshegorod replied, "We are ready to lay down our lives for you." He then commanded them to say nothing to any man, but to go and kill his brother Boris. They straightway promised to execute his order. Of such men Solomon has well said, "They make haste to shed blood unjustly. For they [133] promise blood, and gather evil. Their path runneth to evil, for they possess their souls in dishonor." (*Prov.* i, 16–19.)

These emissaries came to the Alta, and when they approached, they heard the sainted Boris singing vespers. For it was already known to him that they intended to take his life. Then he arose and began to chant, saying, "Oh Lord, how are they increased who come against me! Many are they that rise up against me." (*Ps.* iii, 1.) And also, "Thy arrows have pierced me, for I am ready for wounds and my pain is before me continually." (*Ps.* xxxviii, 2, 17.) And he also uttered this prayer: "Lord, hear my prayer, and enter not into judgment with thy servant, for no living man shall be just before thee. For the enemy hath crushed my soul." (*Ps.* cxl, 1–3.) After ending the six psalms, when he saw how men were sent out to kill him, he began to chant the Psalter, saying, "Strong bulls encompassed me, and the assemblage of the evil beset me. Oh Lord my God, I have hoped in thee; save me and deliver me from my pursuers." (*Ps.* xxii, 12, 16; vii, 1.) Then he began to sing the canon. After finishing vespers, he prayed, gazing upon the eikon, the image of the Lord, with these words: "Lord Jesus Christ, who in this image hast appeared on earth for our salvation, and who, having voluntarily suffered thy hands to be nailed to the Cross, didst endure thy passion for our sins, so help me now to endure my passion. For I accept it not from those who are my enemies, but from the hand of my own brother. Hold it not against him as a sin, oh Lord!"

After offering this prayer, he lay down upon his couch. [134] Then they fell upon him like wild beasts about the tent, and overcame him by piercing him with lances. They also overpowered his servant, who cast himself upon his body. For he was beloved of Boris. He was a servant of Hungarian race, George by name, to whom Boris was greatly attached. The Prince had given him a large gold necklace which he wore while serving him. They also killed many other servants of Boris. But since they could not quickly take the necklace from George's neck, they cut off his head, and thus obtained it. For this reason his body was not recognized later among the corpses.

The desperados, after attacking Boris, wrapped him in a canvas, loaded him upon a wagon, and dragged him off, though he was still alive. When the impious Svyatopolk saw that he was still breathing, he sent two Varangians to finish him. When they came and saw that he was still alive, one of them drew his sword and plunged it into his heart. Thus died the blessed Boris, receiving from the hand of Christ our God the crown among the righteous. He shall be numbered with the Prophets and the Apostles, as he joins with the choirs of martyrs, rests in the lap of Abraham, beholds joy ineffable, chants with the angels, and rejoices in company with the choirs of saints. After his body had been carried in secret to Vyshegorod, it was buried in the Church of St Basil.

The desperate murderers, [135] godless wretches that they were, returned to Svyatopolk in hope of commendation. The names of these contemners of the law are Putsha, Taletz, Elovit, and Lyashko, and their father was Satan himself. For such servants are devils, since devils are sent to do evil, and angels to do good. An angel does no harm to man, but, instead, thinks constantly of his good. Angels render help to Christians, and protect them against their adversary the devil. But devils always seek after evil, and hate man, since they behold him honored of God. Because they envy him, they are swift in their evil mission. An evil man, eager for crime, is worse than a devil, because devils at least fear God, whereas an evil man neither fears God nor is ashamed before men. Devils fear the Cross of the Lord, but an evil man does not even fear the Holy Cross.

The impious Svyatopolk then reflected, "Behold, I have killed Boris; now how can I kill Gleb?" Adopting once more Cain's device, he craftily sent messages to Gleb to the effect that he should come quickly, because his father was very ill and desired his presence. Gleb quickly mounted his horse, and set out with a small company, for he was obedient to his father. When he came to the Volga, his horse stumbled in a ditch on the plain, and broke his leg. He arrived at Smolensk, and setting out thence at dawn, he embarked in a boat on the Smyadyn. At this time, Yaroslav received from Predslava the tidings of their father's death, and he sent word to Gleb that he should not set out, because his father [136] was dead and his brother had been murdered by Svyatopolk. Upon receiving these tidings, Gleb burst into tears, and mourned for his father, but still more deeply for his brother. He wept and prayed with the lament, "Woe is me, oh Lord! It were better for me to die with my brother than to live on in this world. Oh my brother, had I but seen thy angelic countenance, I should have died with thee. Why am I now left alone? Where are thy words that thou didst say to me, my brother? No longer do I hear thy sweet counsel. If thou hast received affliction from God, pray for me that I may endure the same passion. For it were better for me to dwell with thee than in this deceitful world."

While he was thus praying amid his tears, there suddenly arrived those sent by Svyatopolk for Gleb's destruction. These emissaries seized Gleb's boat, and drew their weapons. The servants of Gleb were terrified, and the impious messenger, Goryaser, gave orders that they should slay Gleb with despatch. Then Gleb's cook, Torchin by name, seized a knife, and stabbed Gleb. He was offered up as a sacrifice to God like an innocent lamb, a glorious offering amid the perfume of incense, and he received the crown of glory. Entering the heavenly mansions, he beheld his long-desired brother, and rejoiced with him in the joy ineffable which they had attained through their brotherly love.

"How good and fair it is for brethren to live together!" (*Ps.* cxxxiii, 1.) But the impious ones returned again, [137] even as David said, "Let the sinners return to hell." (*Ps.* ix, 17.) When they returned to Svyatopolk, they reported that his command had been executed. On hearing these tidings, he was puffed up with pride, since he knew not the words of David, "Why art thou proud of thy evildoing, oh mighty one? Thy tongue hath considered lawlessness all the day long." (*Ps.* lii, 1.)

After Gleb had been slain, his body was thrown upon the shore between two tree-trunks, but afterward they took him and carried him away, to bury him beside his brother Boris in the Church of St Basil. United thus in body and still more in soul, ye dwell with the Lord and King of all, in eternal joy, ineffable light, bestowing salutary gifts upon the land of Rus. Ye give healing to other strangers who draw near with faith, making the lame to walk, giving sight to the blind, to the sick health, to captives freedom, to prisoners liberty, to the sorrowful consolation, and to the oppressed relief. Ye are the protectors of the land of Rus, shining forever like beacons and praying to the Lord in behalf of your countrymen. Therefore must we worthily magnify these martyrs in Christ, praying fervently to them and saying: "Rejoice, martyrs in Christ from the land of Rus, who give healing to them who draw near to you in faith and love. Rejoice, dwellers in heaven. In the body ye were angels, servants in the same thought, comrades in the same image, of one heart with the saints. To all that suffer [138] ye give relief. Rejoice, Boris and Gleb, wise in God. Like streams ye spring from the founts of life-giving water which flow for the redemption of the righteous. Rejoice, ye who have trampled the serpent of evil beneath your feet. Ye have appeared amid bright rays, enlightening like beacons the whole land of Rus. Appearing in faith immutable, ye have ever driven away the darkness. Rejoice, ye who have won an unslumbering eye, ye blessed ones who have received in your hearts the zeal to fulfill God's holy commandments. Rejoice, brethren united in the realms of golden light, in the heavenly abodes, in glory unfading, which ye through your merits have attained. Rejoice, ye who are brightly irradiate with the luminance of God, and travel throughout the world expelling devils and healing diseases. Like beacons supernal and zealous guardians, ye dwell with God, illumined forever with light divine, and in your courageous martyrdom ye enlighten the souls of the faithful. The light-bringing heavenly love has exalted you, wherefore ye have inherited all fair things in the heavenly life: glory, celestial sustenance, the light of wisdom, and beauteous joys. Rejoice, ye who refresh our hearts, driving out pain and sickness and curing evil passions. Ye glorious ones, with the sacred drops of your blood ye have dyed a robe of purple which ye wear in beauty, and reign forevermore with Christ, interceding with him for his new Christian nation and for your fellows, for our land is hallowed [139] by your blood. By virtue of your relics deposited in the church, ye illumine it with the Holy Spirit, for there in heavenly bliss, as martyrs among the army of martyrs, ye intercede for your nation. Rejoice, bright daysprings, our Christ-loving martyrs and intercessors! Subject the pagans to our Princes, beseeching our Lord God that they may live in concord and in health, freed from intestine war and the crafts of the devil. Help us therefore who sing and recite your sacred praise forever unto our life's end."

Now the impious and evil Svyatopolk killed Svyatoslav in the Hungarian mountains, after causing him to be pursued as he fled into Hungary. Then he began to reflect how he would kill all his brethren, and rule alone in Rus. He schemed thus in his pride, being ignorant that God attributes power according to his divine plans. For the Most High God appoints emperor and prince, and confers authority according to his desires. Wherever a nation is justified before God, he there appoints a just emperor or prince, who loves law and righteousness, and sets up a governor and a judge to render judgment. For if the princes are righteous in the land, many sins are remitted. But if they are evil and deceitful, then God visits yet greater evil [140] upon that country, for the prince is its head. Thus Isaiah said, "They have sinned from head to foot" (*Is.* i, 6), meaning from the emperor down to the common people. "Woe unto that city in which the prince is young, loving to drink wine amid music and in the company of young councillors. God bestoweth such princes in requital for sin, and taketh away from Jerusalem the strong, the giant, the valiant man, the judge, the prophet, the moderate elder, the able councillor, the cunning artificer, the learned, the wise, and the obedient. I shall appoint a youth to be their prince, and a brawler to be their ruler." (*Is.* iii, 1–4.)

The impious Svyatopolk thus began his reign in Kiev. Assembling the people, he began to distribute skins to some and furs to others, and thus dissipated a large sum.

When Yaroslav heard of his father's death, he had many Varangians under his command, and they offered violence to the inhabitants of Novgorod and to their wives. The men of Novgorod then rose and killed the Varangians in their market place. Yaroslav was angry, and departing to Rakom, he took up his abode in the castle. Then he sent messengers to Novgorod with the comment that the death of his retainers was beyond remedy, but at the same time he summoned before him the chief men of the city who had massacred the Varangians, and craftily killed them. The same night news came from Kiev sent by his sister Predslava to the effect that his father was dead, that Svyatopolk had settled in Kiev after killing Boris, and was now endeavoring to compass the death of Gleb, [141] and she warned Yaroslav to be exceedingly on his guard against Svyatopolk. When Yaroslav heard these tidings, he grieved for his father and his retainers.

On the morrow, he collected the remnant of the men of Novgorod and regretfully lamented, "Alas for my beloved retainers, whom I yesterday caused to be killed! You would indeed be useful in the present crisis." He wiped away his tears, and informed his subjects in the assembly that his father was dead, and that Svyatopolk had settled in Kiev after killing his brethren. Then the men of Novgorod said, "We can still fight for you, oh Prince, even though our brethren are slain." So Yaroslav collected one thousand Varangians and forty thousand other soldiers, and marched against Svyatopolk. He called on God as his witness and protested, "It was not I who began to kill our brethren, but Svyatopolk himself. May God be the avenger of the blood of my brethren, inasmuch as Svyatopolk, despite their innocence, has shed the just blood of Boris and Gleb. Perhaps he will even visit the same fate upon me. But judge me, oh Lord, according to the right, that the malice of the sinful may end." So he marched against Svyatopolk. When Svyatopolk learned that Yaroslav was on his way, he prepared an innumerable army of Russes and Pechenegs, and marched out toward Lyubech on one side of the Dnieper, while Yaroslav was on the opposite bank.

6524 (1016). Yaroslav arrived before Kiev, and the brothers stood over against each other on both banks of the Dnieper, but neither party dared attack. They remained thus face to face for three months. Then Svyatopolk's general [142] rode out along the shore and scoffed at the men of Novgorod, shouting, "Why did you come hither with this crooked-shanks, you carpenters? We shall put you to work on our houses." When the men of Novgorod heard this taunt, they declared to Yaroslav, "Tomorrow we will cross over to them, and whoever will not go with us we will kill." Now it was already beginning to freeze. Svyatopolk was stationed between two lakes, and caroused with his retinue the whole night through. Yaroslav on the morrow marshaled his troops, and crossed over toward dawn. His forces disembarked on the shore, and pushed the boats out from the bank. The two armies advanced to the attack, and met upon the field. The carnage was terrible. Because of the lake, the Pechenegs could bring no aid, and Yaroslav's troops drove Svyatopolk with his followers toward it. When the latter went out upon the ice, it broke under them, and Yaroslav began to win the upper hand. Svyatopolk then fled among the Lyakhs, while Yaroslav established himself in Kiev upon the throne of his father and his grandfather. Yaroslav had then been in Novgorod twenty-eight years.

6525 (1017). Yaroslav took up his abode in Kiev, and in the same year the churches were burned.

6526 (1018). Boleslav attacked Yaroslav with Svyatopolk and his Lyakhs. [143] After collecting Russes, Varangians, and Slavs, Yaroslav marched forth against Boleslav and Svyatopolk, and upon arriving at Volyn, they camped on both sides of the river Bug. Now Yaroslav had with him his guardian and general, Budy by name. He scoffed at Boleslav, remarking, "We shall pierce your fat belly with a pike." For Boleslav was big and heavy, so that he could scarcely sit a horse, but he was crafty. So Boleslav said to his retainers, "If you do not avenge this insult, I will perish alone," and leaping upon his horse, he rode into the river and his retainers after him, while Yaroslav had no time to align his troops, so that Boleslav vanquished him.

Then Yaroslav fled with four men to Novgorod, and Boleslav entered Kiev in company with Svyatopolk. Boleslav ordered that his force should be dispersed to forage throughout the cities, and so it was done. When Yaroslav arrived at Novgorod in his flight, he planned to escape overseas, but the viceroy Constantine, son of Dobrynya, together with the men of Novgorod, destroyed his boats, protesting that they wished to fight once more against Boleslav and Svyatopolk. They set out to gather funds at the rate of four skins per man, ten *grivni* from each elder, and eighteen *grivni* from each boyar. With these funds they recruited Varangians whom they imported, and thus collected for Yaroslav a large army.

While Boleslav was settled in Kiev, the impious Svyatopolk ordered that any Lyakhs found in the city should be killed, [144] and so the Lyakhs were slain. Then Boleslav fled from Kiev, taking with him the property and the boyars of Yaroslav, as well as the latter's two sisters, and made Anastasius steward of the property, for the latter had won his confidence by his flattery. He took with him a large company, and having appropriated to himself the cities of Cherven, he returned to his native land. Svyatopolk thus reigned alone in Kiev, but Yaroslav attacked him again, and Svyatopolk fled among the Pechenegs.

6527 (1019). Svyatopolk advanced with a large force of Pecheneg supporters, and Yaroslav collected a multitude of soldiery, and went forth against him to the Alta River. Yaroslav halted at the site where Boris had been slain, and lifting up his hands to heaven, exclaimed, "The blood of my brother cries aloud to thee, oh Lord. Avenge the blood of this just man. Visit upon this criminal the sorrow and terror that thou didst inflict upon Cain to avenge the blood of Abel." Then he prayed and said, "My brethren, although ye be absent in the body, yet help me with your prayer against this presumptuous assassin." When he had thus spoken, the two armies attacked, and the plain of the Alta was covered with the multitudinous soldiery of both forces. It was then Friday. As the sun rose, they met in battle, and the carnage was terrible, such as had never before occurred in Rus. The soldiers fought hand to hand and slaughtered each other. Three times they clashed, so that blood flowed in the valley. Toward evening Yaroslav conquered, and Svyatopolk fled.

As he fled, [145] a devil came upon him, and his bones were softened, so that he could not ride, but was carried in a litter. His retainers bore him to Brest in his flight, but he still cried out, "Fly with me, they are pursuing us!" His servants sent back to see who was pursuing them, and there was actually no one following their trail, but still they fled on with him. He lay in a faint, and when he recovered, he still cried out, "Run, they are pursuing us!" He could not endure to stay in one place, but fled through the land of the Lyakhs, pursued by the wrath of God. Upon reaching the wilderness between Poland and Bohemia, he ended his life in an evil fashion. When judgment thus rightly fell upon him as a sinner, torments seized this impious prince after his departure from this world. That is clearly proved by the fatal wound which was dealt him and which mercilessly drove him to his death; and since his death he abides in bonds and in torment everlasting. His tomb is in the wilderness even to this day, and an evil odor issues forth from it.

This retribution was exhibited by God as an admonition to the princes of Rus so that, if they do likewise after hearing of this dread example, they shall incur the same punishment, yet still more severe, because they, though familiar with this story, still commit the same evil crime. For Cain received seven punishments for killing Abel, and Lamech seventy, because Cain did not know the penalty to be exacted by God, while Lamech knew of the chastisement visited upon his ancestor, yet still committed murder notwithstanding. For Lamech said [146] to his wives, "I have killed a man to my harm, and a youth to my destruction. Wherefore," said he, "seventy punishments are upon me, because I acted knowingly." (*Gen.* iv, 23.) Lamech killed two brothers of Enoch, and took their wives. Likewise Svyatopolk was a new Abimelech, who was born in adultery, and who killed his brothers, the sons of Gideon. Thus Yaroslav settled in Kiev, together with his followers, and wiped away the sweat of his labors now that victory was won after a hard struggle.

6528 (1020). A son was born to Yaroslav, and he called his name Vladimir.

6529 (1021). Bryachislav, son of Izyaslav, grandson of Vladimir, came and captured Novgorod, and having taken the people of Novgorod and their property, he returned to Polotzk. When he arrived at the Sudomir River, Yaroslav came thither from Kiev on the seventh day. He conquered Bryachislav, and returned the people of Novgorod to their city, while Bryachislav fled to Polotzk.

6530 (1022). Yaroslav came to Brest. At this time Mstislav, who was in Tmutorakan, attacked the Kassogians. When Rededya, prince of the Kassogians, heard the report, he went forth against him, and as both armies stood face to face, Rededya said to Mstislav, "Why do we destroy our forces by mutual warfare? Let us rather fight [147] in single combat ourselves. If you win, you shall receive my property, my wife, and my children, and my land. But if I win, I shall take all your possessions." Then Mstislav assented to his proposal. Rededya thus suggested that they should wrestle instead of fighting with weapons. They straightway began to struggle violently, and when they had wrestled for some time, Mstislav began to tire, for Rededya was large and strong. Then Mstislav exclaimed, "Oh Virgin Mother of God, help me! If I conquer this man, I will build a church in thy name." Having spoken thus, he threw the Kassogian to the ground, then drew his knife and stabbed Rededya. He then penetrated into his territory, seized all his property, his wife, and his children, and imposed tribute upon the Kassogians. When he returned to Tmutorakan, he then founded a church dedicated to the Holy Virgin and built it, as it stands in Tmutorakan even to the present day.

6531 (1023). Mstislav marched against Yaroslav with a force of Khazars and Kassogians.

6532 (1024). While Yaroslav was at Novgorod, Mstislav arrived before Kiev from Tmutorakan, but the inhabitants of Kiev would not admit him. He thus departed thence and established himself upon the throne of Chernigov, while Yaroslav was at Novgorod. In this year, magicians appeared in Suzdal, and killed old people by satanic inspiration and devil worship, saying that they would spoil the harvest. There was great confusion and famine throughout all that country. The whole population went along the Volga to the Bulgarians, from whom they bought grain and thus sustained themselves.

When Yaroslav heard of the magicians, [148] he went to Suzdal. He there seized upon the magicians and dispersed them, but punished some, saying, "In proportion to its sin, God inflicts upon every land hunger, pest, drought, or some other chastisement, and man has no understanding thereof." Then Yaroslav returned and came again to Novgorod, whence he sent overseas after Varangians. Thus Haakon came over with his Varangian followers. Now this Haakon was blind, and he had a robe all woven with gold. He allied himself with Yaroslav, and with his support Yaroslav marched against Mstislav who, upon hearing the news of their coming, proceeded to meet them at Listven.

At eventide Mstislav marshaled his troops, placing the Severians in the centre opposite the Varangians, while he himself and his personal retainers took up their position on the flanks. When night fell, there was darkness with lightning, thunder, and rain. Mstislav thus ordered his followers to attack. Mstislav and Yaroslav then attacked each other, and the Severians in the centre met the Varangians, who exhausted themselves in opposing them. Then Mstislav came up with his retainers to attack the Varangians, and the combat was violent. As the lightnings flashed, the weapons gleamed and the thunder roared, and the fight was violent and fearsome. Now when Yaroslav saw that he was overpowered, he fled from the field with Haakon, the Varangian prince, who lost his gold-woven robe in his flight. Yaroslav arrived safely at Novgorod, but Haakon departed beyond the sea. Mstislav, however, when on the morrow at dawn he beheld lying dead his own Severians [149] and the Varangians of Yaroslav whom his men had slain, exclaimed in exultation, "Who does not rejoice at this spectacle? Here lies a Severian, here a Varangian, and my retainers are unharmed." Then Mstislav proposed to Yaroslav that the latter, as the eldest brother, should remain in Kiev, while the Chernigov district should belong to Mstislav. But Yaroslav did not dare to return to Kiev until they were properly reconciled. So Mstislav settled in Chernigov, and Yaroslav in Novgorod, though Kiev was occupied by subjects of Yaroslav.

6534 (1026). Yaroslav recruited many soldiers and arrived at Kiev, where he made peace with his brother Mstislav near Gorodetz. They divided Rus according to the course of the Dnieper. Yaroslav took the Kiev side, and Mstislav the other. They thus began to live in peace and fraternal amity. Strife and tumult ceased, and there was a great calm in the land.

6535 (1027). A third son was born to Yaroslav, and he named him Svyatoslav.

6536 (1028). A portent visible to the whole country appeared in the heavens.

6537 (1029). Peace prevailed.

6538 (1030). Yaroslav captured Byeltz. To Yaroslav was born his fourth son, and he named him Vsevolod. In this year, Yaroslav attacked the Chuds and conquered them. He thus founded the city of Yuryev. At this same time, Boleslav the Great died in Poland, and there was a revolt in the Polish country. [150] The people arose and killed the bishops, the priests, and the boyars, and there was rebellion among them.

6539 (1031). Yaroslav and Mstislav collected a large force and marched into Poland. They recaptured the cities of Cherven, and ravaged the Polish countryside. They also captured many Poles and distributed them as colonists in various districts. Yaroslav located his captives along the Ros, where they live to this day.

6540 (1032). Yaroslav began to found towns along the Ros.

6541 (1033). Eustathius, son of Mstislav, passed away.

6542–6543 (1034–1036). While on a hunting expedition, Mstislav fell sick and died, and was laid in the Church of the Holy Savior, which he himself had founded. In his time, it was built to a point higher than a man on horseback could reach with his hand. Mstislav was corpulent and red-faced, with large eyes, bold in battle, merciful, and a great lover of his retainers, begrudging them neither treasure nor food nor drink.

Thereafter Yaroslav assumed the entire sovereignty, and was the sole ruler in the land of Rus. Yaroslav went to Novgorod, where he set up his son Vladimir as prince, and appointed Zhidyata bishop. At this time, a son was born to Yaroslav, and he named him Vyacheslav. While Yaroslav was still at Novgorod, news came [151] to him that the Pechenegs were besieging Kiev. He then collected a large army of Varangians and Slavs, returned to Kiev, and entered his city. The Pechenegs were innumerable. Yaroslav made a sally from the city and marshaled his forces, placing the Varangians in the centre, the men of Kiev on the right flank, and the men of Novgorod on the left. When they had taken position before the city, the Pechenegs advanced, and they met on the spot where the metropolitan Church of St Sophia now stands. At that time, as a matter of fact, there were fields outside the city. The combat was fierce, but toward evening Yaroslav with difficulty won the upper hand. The Pechenegs fled in various directions, but as they did not know in what quarter to flee, they were drowned, some in the Syetoml, some in other streams, while the remnant of them is fleeing yet. In this same year, Yaroslav imprisoned his brother Sudislav in Pskov because he had been accused of conspiracy.

6545 (1037). Yaroslav built the great citadel at Kiev, near which stand the Golden Gates. He founded there also the metropolitan Church of St Sophia, the Church of the Annunciation by the Golden Gates, and also the Monastery of Sts George and Irene. During his reign, the Christian faith was fruitful and multiplied, while the number of monks increased, and new monasteries came into being. Yaroslav loved religious establishments and was devoted to priests, especially to monks. He applied himself to books, and read them continually [152] day and night. He assembled many scribes, and translated from Greek into Slavic. He wrote and collected many books through which true believers are instructed and enjoy religious education. For as one man plows the land, and another sows, and still others reap and eat food in abundance, so did this prince. His father Vladimir plowed and harrowed the soil when he enlightened Rus through baptism, while this prince sowed the hearts of the faithful with the written word, and we in turn reap the harvest by receiving the teaching of books. For great is the profit from book-learning.

Through the medium of books, we are shown and taught the way of repentance, for we gain wisdom and continence from the written word. Books are like rivers that water the whole earth; they are the springs of wisdom. For books have an immeasurable depth; by them we are consoled in sorrow. They are the bridle of self-restraint. For great is wisdom. As Solomon said in its praise, "I (wisdom) have inculcated counsel; I have summoned reason and prudence. The fear of the Lord *is the beginning of wisdom.* Mine are counsel, wisdom, constancy, and strength. Through me kings rule, and the mighty decree justice. Through me are princes magnified and the oppressors possess the earth. I love them that love me, and they who seek me shall find grace." (*Prov.* viii, 12, 13, 14–17.) If you seek wisdom attentively in books, you will obtain great profit for your spirit. He who reads books [153] often converses with God or with holy men. If one possesses the words of the prophets, the teachings of the evangelists and the apostles, and the lives of the holy fathers, his soul will derive great profit therefrom. Thus Yaroslav, as we have said, was a lover of books, and as he wrote many, he deposited them in the Church of St Sophia which he himself had founded. He adorned it with gold and silver and churchly vessels, and in it the usual hymns are raised to God at the customary seasons. He founded other churches in the cities and districts, appointing priests and paying them out of his personal fortune. He bade them teach the people, since that is the duty which God has prescribed them, and to go often into the churches. Priests and Christian laymen thus increased in number. Yaroslav rejoiced to see the multitude of his churches and of his Christian subjects, but the devil was afflicted, since he was now conquered by this new Christian nation.

6546 (1038). Yaroslav attacked the Yatvingians.

6547 (1039). The Church of the Virgin which had been founded by Vladimir, Yaroslav's father, was consecrated by the bishop Theopemptos.

6548 (1040). Yaroslav attacked Lithuania.

6549 (1041). Yaroslav attacked the Mazovians by boat.

6550 (1042). Vladimir, son of Yaroslav, attacked the people of Yam and conquered them. The horses of Vladimir's soldiery died; and they tore the skins off the horses while the latter were still breathing, [154] so violent was the plague from which the animals suffered.

6551 (1043). Yaroslav sent his son Vladimir to attack Greece, and entrusted to him a large force. He assigned the command to Vyshata, father of Yan. Vladimir set out by ship, arrived at the Danube, and proceeded toward Tsargrad. A great storm arose, which broke up the ships of the Russes; the wind damaged even the prince's vessel, and Ivan son of Tvorimir, Yaroslav's general, took the prince into his boat. The other soldiers of Vladimir to the number of six thousand were cast on shore, and desired to return to Rus, but none of the prince's retainers went with them. Then Vyshata announced that he would accompany them, and disembarked from the vessel to join them, exclaiming, "If I survive, it will be with the soldiers, and if I perish, it will be with the prince's retainers." They thus set out to return to Rus. It now became known to the Greeks how the Russes had suffered from the storm, and the Emperor, who was called Monomakh, sent fourteen ships to pursue them. When Vladimir and his retainers perceived that the Greeks were pursuing them, he wheeled about, dispersed the Greek ships, and returned to Rus. But the Greeks captured Vyshata, in company with those who had been cast on land, and brought them to Tsargrad, where they blinded many of the captive Russes. After peace had prevailed for three years thereafter, Vyshata was sent back to Yaroslav in Rus. At this same time, Yaroslav married his sister [155] to Kazimir, and as a wedding gift Kazimir surrendered eight hundred captives whom Boleslav had taken when he overcame Yaroslav.

6552 (1044). The bodies of the two princes Yaropolk and Oleg, sons of Svyatoslav, after their remains were baptized, were laid in the Church of the Holy Virgin.

In this same year died Bryachislav, son of Izyaslav, and father of Vseslav; and Vseslav his son succeeded to his throne. Him his mother bore by enchantment, for when his mother bore him, there was a caul over his head, and the magicians bade his mother bind this caul upon him, that he might carry it with him the rest of his life. Vseslav accordingly bears it to this day, and for this reason he is pitiless in bloodshed.

6553 (1045). Vladimir founded the Church of St Sophia at Novgorod.

6554–6555 (1046–1047). Yaroslav attacked and conquered the Mazovians, killing their prince Moislav, and subjected them to Kazimir.

6556–6558 (1048–1050). The princess, wife of Yaroslav, died *on February 10.*

6559 (1051). Yaroslav, after assembling the bishops, appointed Hilarion Metropolitan of Rus in St Sophia.

Let us now relate why the Monastery of the Crypts bears this name. Prince Yaroslav was fond of Berestovoye and the Church of [156] the Holy Apostles there situated. He gathered a large company of priests, among whom was a presbyter named Hilarion, a virtuous man, learned and ascetic. Hilarion used often to walk from Berestovoye toward the Dnieper to a certain hill, where the old Crypt Monastery now is, and made his orisons there. He dug a little crypt two yards deep, and often went thither from Berestovoye to chant the hours and offer his prayer to God in secret. Then God inspired the Prince to appoint him Metropolitan in St Sophia; and the crypt remained as it was.

Not many days afterward, there was a certain man, a layman from the city of Lyubech, in whose heart God inspired the desire to go on pilgrimage. He made his way to Mt. Athos, beheld the monasteries there, and upon examining them and being charmed by the monastic life, he entered one of the local monasteries, and begged the prior to confer upon him the monastic habit. The latter complied with his request and made him a monk, calling him Antonius, and after he had admonished him and instructed him in his monastic obligations, he bade him return to Rus accompanied by the blessing of the Holy Mount, that many other monks might spring from his example. The prior blessed him and dismissed him, saying, "Go in peace." Antonius returned to Kiev, and reflected where he should live. He went about among the monasteries and liked none of them, since God did not so will, and subsequently wandered about among the hills and valleys seeking the place which God should show him. He finally came to the hill where Hilarion had dug the crypt, and liked this site, and rejoiced in it. He then lifted up his voice in prayer to God, saying amid his tears, "Oh Lord, strengthen me in this place, [157] and may there rest upon it the blessing of the Holy Mount and of the prior who tonsured me." Thus he took up his abode there, praying to God, eating dry bread all the day long, drinking water in peace, and digging the crypt. He gave himself rest neither day nor night, but endured in his labors. in vigil, and in prayer. Afterward good men noticed his conduct, and supplied him according to his necessities. Thus he acquired distinction as the great Antonius, and those who drew near to him besought his blessing.

When the Great Prince Yaroslav died, Izyaslav his son inherited his domain and settled in Kiev, while Antonius was celebrated throughout Rus. Izyaslav observed his manner of life, and came with his retainers to request his blessing and prayers. The great Antonius was thus remarked and revered by everyone. Brothers joined him, and he welcomed and tonsured them. Brethren thus gathered about him to the number of twelve. They dug a great crypt and a church, and cells, which exist to this day in the crypt under the old monastery. When the brethren had thus assembled, Antonius said to them, "God has gathered you together, my brethren, and ye are under the blessing of the Holy Mount, through which the prior at the Holy Mount tonsured me and I have tonsured you also. May there be upon you first the blessing of God and second that of the Holy Mount." And he added this injunction: "Live apart by yourselves, and I shall appoint you a prior; for I prefer [158] to go alone to yonder hill, as I formerly was wont when I dwelt in solitude." So he appointed Barlaam as their prior, and betook himself to the hill, where he dug a grotto, which is under the new monastery, and in which he ended his life, enduring in virtue, and for the space of forty years never issuing forth from the crypt in which his bones lie to the present day.

The brethren thus abode with their prior, and as the number of monks in the crypt increased, they considered the establishment of a monastery outside the original crypt. Thus the prior and the brethren approached Antonius and said to him, "Father, the brethren have increased in numbers, and we can no longer find room in the crypt. If God and thy prayers so direct us, we might build a small church outside the crypt." Antonius then bade them so to do. They obeyed him, and built a little chapel over the crypt and dedicated it to the Assumption of the Holy Virgin.

God continued to augment the number of the brotherhood through the intercession of the Holy Virgin, and the brethren took counsel with the prior as to constructing a monastery. The friars again visited Antonius, and said, "Father, our brethren increase in numbers, and we are desirous of building a monastery." Antonius rejoiced and replied, "Blessed be God for all things, and may the prayers of the Holy Virgin and of the fathers of the Holy Mount be with you." Having thus spoken, he sent one of the brotherhood to Prince Izyaslav with the message, "My Prince! Behold, God strengthens the brotherhood, but their abode is small; give us therefore the hill which [159] is above the crypt." When Izyaslav heard these words, he rejoiced, and sent his servant, and gave to them the hill. The prior and the brethren founded there a great church, and fenced in the monastery with a palisade. They constructed many cells, completed the church, and adorned it with eikons. Such was the origin of the Crypt Monastery, which was so named because the brethren first lived in the crypt. The Crypt Monastery thus issued from the benediction of the Holy Mount.

Now when the monastery was completed during the priorate of Barlaam, Izyaslav founded the Monastery of St Demetrius, and appointed Barlaam prior therein, since he intended, by virtue of his material wealth, to make it superior to the ancient monastery. Many monasteries have indeed been founded by emperors and nobles and magnates, but they are not such as those founded by tears, fasting, prayer, and vigil. Antonius had neither silver nor gold, but accomplished his purpose through tears and fasting, as I have recounted.

When Barlaam had departed to St Demetrius', the brethren held a council, and then once more visited the ancient Antonius with the request that he should designate them a new prior. He inquired whom they desired. They replied that they desired only the one designated by God and by his own selection. Then he inquired of them, "Who among you is more obedient, more modest, and more mild than Theodosius? Let him be your prior." The brethren rejoiced, and made their reverence before the old man. Being twenty in number, they thus appointed Theodosius to be their prior. When Theodosius took over the monastery, he began to practise abstinence, fasting, and tearful prayer. [160] He undertook to assemble many monks, and thus gathered together brethren to the number of one hundred.

He also interested himself in searching out the monastic rules. There was in Kiev at the time a monk from the Studion Monastery named Michael, who had come from Greece with the Metropolitan George, and Theodosius inquired of him concerning the practices of the Studion monks. He obtained their rule from him, copied it out, and established it in his own monastery to govern the singing of monastic hymns, the making of reverences, the reading of the lessons, behavior in church, the whole ritual, conduct at table, proper food for special days, and to regulate all else according to prescription. After obtaining all this information, Theodosius thus transmitted it to his monastery, and from the latter all others adopted the same institutions. Therefore the Crypt Monastery is honored as the oldest of all.

While Theodosius lived in the monastery, following a virtuous life and the monastic rule, and receiving everyone who presented himself, I, a poor and unworthy servant, came to him, and he accepted me in my seventeenth year. Hence I have set down and certified what year the monastery came into being, and why it is named the Crypt Monastery; but to Theodosius' life we shall recur later.

6560 (1052). Vladimir, Yaroslav's eldest son, died at Novgorod, and was buried in the Church of St Sophia, which he himself had founded.

6561 (1053). A son was born to Vsevolod by the Greek Princess, and he named him Vladimir.

[161] 6562 (1054). Yaroslav, Great Prince of Rus, passed away. While he was yet alive, he admonished his sons with these words: "My sons, I am about to quit this world. Love one another, since ye are brothers by one father and mother. If ye dwell in amity with one another, God will dwell among you, and will subject your enemies to you, and ye will live at peace. But if ye dwell in envy and dissension, quarreling with one another, then ye will perish yourselves and bring to ruin the land of your ancestors, which they won at the price of great effort. Wherefore remain rather at peace, brother heeding brother.

The throne of Kiev I bequeath to my eldest son, your brother Izyaslav. Heed him as ye have heeded me, that he may take my place among you. To Svyatoslav I give Chernigov, to Vsevolod Pereyaslavl, *to Igor the city of Vladimir*, and to Vyacheslav Smolensk." Thus he divided the cities among them, commanding them not to violate one another's boundaries, not to despoil one another. He laid upon Izyaslav the injunction to aid the party wronged, in case one brother should attack another. Thus he admonished his sons to dwell in amity.

Being unwell, he came to Vyshegorod, and there fell seriously ill. Izyaslav at the moment was in Novgorod, Svyatoslav at Vladimir, and Vsevolod with his father, for he was beloved of his father before all his brethren, and Yaroslav kept him constantly [162] by his side. The end of Yaroslav's life drew near, and he gave up the ghost on the first Saturday after the feast of St Theodore (*February 19*). Vsevolod bore his father's body away, and laying it upon a sled, he brought it to Kiev, while priests sang the customary hymns, and the people mourned for him. When they had transported the body, they laid it in a marble sarcophagus in the Church of St Sophia, and Vsevolod and all his subjects mourned him. All the years of his age were seventy-six.

Izyaslav then took up his abode at Kiev, with Svyatoslav in Chernigov, Vsevolod at Pereyaslavl, Igor in Vladimir, and Vyacheslav at Smolensk. In this year, Vsevolod attacked the Torks and conquered them. In the same year, Bolush advanced with his Polovcians, but Vsevolod made peace with them, and they returned whence they had come.

6564–6565 (1056–1057). Vycheslav, son of Yaroslav, died at Smolensk, and Igor took up his abode in Smolensk, moving over from Vladimir.

6566 (1058). Izyaslav conquered the Galindians.

6567 (1059). Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod liberated their uncle Sudislav from the prison where he had been confined for twenty-four years, and after they had obtained his oath of fealty, he took the monastic habit.

6568 (1060). Igor, son of Yaroslav, passed away. [163] In the same year, after collecting a numberless army, Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod made an expedition by horse and by ship against the Torks. When the Torks heard of their coming, they were afraid, and are fleeing even to this day. In their flight they perished, pursued by the hand of God, some of them from the cold, some by famine, and others by pestilence and God's judgment upon them. Thus God once more saved the Christians from the pagans.

6569 (1061). The Polovcians invaded Rus for the first time. On February 2, Vsevolod went forth against them. When they met in battle, the Polovcians defeated Vsevolod, but after the combat they retired. This was the first evil done by these pagan and godless foes. Their prince was Iskal.

6570–6571 (1062–1063). Sudislav, brother of Yaroslav, passed away, and was buried in the Church of St George. In this same year, the Volkhov at Novgorod flowed backward for five days. This was not a favorable portent, since Vseslav burned the city four years later.

6572 (1064). Rostislav, son of Vladimir and grandson of Yaroslav, fled to Tmutorakan, and with him fled Porei and Vyshata, son of Ostromir, the general of Novgorod. Upon his arrival, he expelled Gleb from Tmutorakan and occupied his principate himself. Svyatoslav then marched against Rostislav in his capital, so that the latter withdrew from the city, not because he feared Svyatoslav, but because he was reluctant to take up arms against his uncle. Svyatoslav, upon his entry [164] into Tmutorakan, reëstablished his son Gleb upon the throne, and returned home. Rostislav returned, however, and expelled Gleb, who rejoined his father, while Rostislav remained in Tmutorakan.

In this year, Vseslav began hostilities. At the time, there was a portent in the west in the form of an exceedingly large star with bloody rays, which rose out of the west after sunset. It was visible for a week and appeared with no good presage. Much internal strife occurred thereafter, as well as many barbarian incursions into the land of Rus, for this star appeared as if it were made of blood, and therefore portended bloodshed.

At this same time, a child was cast into the Setoml. Some fishermen pulled it up in their net. We then gazed upon it till evening, when they cast it back into the water because it was malformed: indeed, it had its privates upon its face, and for reasons of modesty no further account need be given regarding it.

Somewhat before this moment, the sun also suffered alteration, and, instead of being bright, became rather like the moon. Such signs portend no good, for we understand how, in ancient times at Jerusalem, in the reign of Antiochus, it suddenly occurred that during a period of forty days armed men appeared throughout the whole city clad in golden raiment and riding on horseback through the air. Squadrons of them even appeared brandishing their weapons. This apparition presaged the attack of Antiochus [165] upon Jerusalem. Later, during the reign of the Emperor Nero, a star like a spear in its shape shone over the same city of Jerusalem. This sign portended the attack of an army sent by the Romans. Again it happened likewise in the reign of the Emperor Justinian that a star emitting rays appeared in the west. Men called it the brilliant star, and it shone forth for twenty days. Subsequently a shower of stars fell from evening till dawn, so that all thought that the stars of heaven were falling, and again the sun shone without light. This portent presaged rebellions and pestilences, and was fatal to mankind. The following portents similarly occurred during the reign of the Emperor Mauricius: a woman bore a child without eyes and without hands, and a fish-tail grew to his back; a six-legged dog was born; and in Africa there were born two children, one with four legs, and the other with two heads. Later, during the reign of Constantine the Iconoclast, son of Leo, there was a shower of stars in the sky, and they were cast down upon the earth, so that eyewitnesses thought it was the end of the world. At the same time, the air also was violently perturbed. In Syria, a violent earthquake took place, and the earth split for a distance of three stadia. Strange to relate, a mule issued forth from the earth, speaking with a human voice and prophesying the incursion of the pagans, which actually took place, for the Saracens attacked Palestine. Thus portents in the sky, or in the stars, or in the sun, or such as are made known by birds or from some other source, are not of favorable import. Such signs are, on the contrary, of evil significance, presaging the appearance of war, famine, or death.

[166] 6574 (1066). When Rostislav was at Tmutorakan, receiving tribute from the Kassogians and from other regions, the Greeks became afraid of him and sent to him an envoy with treacherous intent. When he came before Rostislav and won his confidence, the prince did him great honor. Then on one occasion while Rostislav was drinking with his retinue, the envoy said, "Oh Prince, I would drink to your health," and Rostislav accepted the compliment. The Greek drank half the goblet, and then offered the other half to the prince to drink after dipping his finger in the cup, for he had a deadly poison under his finger-nail. He thus passed the drink to the prince, having determined his death for the seventh day thereafter. When the prince had drunk the draught, the envoy departed to Kherson, where he reported

that upon that day Rostislav would die, as did in fact occur. The people of Kherson then slew this officer by stoning him. Rostislav was a man bold in war, fair of stature, and handsome of feature, and he was generous to the poor. His death occurred on February 3, and he was buried there in the Church of the Holy Virgin.

6575 (1067). Vseslav, the son of Bryacheslav of Polotzk, undertook a campaign and captured Novgorod. Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod, the three sons of Yaroslav, though it was the dead of winter, collected a force and set forth against him. They arrived before Minsk, but the citizens barricaded themselves in the city. Then the brethren captured it, put the men to the sword, sold the women and children into slavery, and proceeded to the Nemiga. Vseslav came forward to meet them. The two forces thus collided at the Nemiga on March 3, [167] with heavy snow on the ground. They thus attacked, and the carnage was severe. The casualties were numerous, but Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod won the day, while Vseslav sought safety in flight. On July 10 following, Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod took oath as to their peaceful intentions and offered Vseslav safe-conduct if he would join them. He put his confidence in their sworn oath, and crossed the Dnieper by boat. Izyaslav preceded Vseslav into their tent, and contrary to their oath, the brethren thus took Vseslav captive at Rsha, near Smolensk. Izyaslav then brought Vseslav to Kiev and there threw him and his two sons into prison.

6576 (1068). A multitude of those nomads known as the Polovcians attacked the land of Rus, and Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod went forth against them as far as the Alta. They joined battle in the dead of night, but since God had let loose the pagans upon us because of our transgressions, the Russian princes fled and the Polovcians were victorious.

God in his wrath causes foreigners to attack a nation, and then, when its inhabitants are thus crushed by the invaders, they remember God. Intestine strife is incited by the craft of the devil. For God wishes men not evil but good; while the devil takes his delight in cruel murder and bloodshed, and therefore incites quarrels, envy, domestic strife, and slander. When any nation has sinned, God punishes them by death or famine [168] or barbarian incursion, by drought or a plague of caterpillars or by other chastisements, until we repent of our sin and live according to God's commandment. For he says unto us through the mouth of his Prophet, "Turn unto me with all your hearts in fasting and lamentation." (*Joel*, ii, 12.) If we thus act, we shall all be forgiven our sins. But we return to evil, and persist in wallowing like swine in the mire of iniquity. "I knew that thou art obdurate and thy neck is an iron sinew." (*Is.* xlviiii, 4.) "Therefore I have withholden the rain from you. I caused it to rain upon one city, and caused it not to rain upon another city, and it has withered. I have smitten you with heat and various chastisements, but even so ye have not returned unto me. Therefore I have smitten your vineyards, your olive-groves, your fields, and your forests, saith the Lord, but I could not drive out your iniquities. I sent upon you divers diseases and painful deaths, and brought plague upon your cattle, but even so ye have not repented, but said, 'Let us be manful.'" (*Amos*, iv, 7–10.) "When will ye be sated with your iniquities? For ye have turned aside from my way, saith the Lord, and have committed many transgressions. Therefore I will be a swift witness against my adversaries, against the adulterer, and against those who swear falsely by my name, against those that deprive the hireling of his wages, who offer violence to the orphan and the widow, and who incline justice to wrong. Why have ye not restrained yourselves in your sins, but violated my laws and not [169] kept them? Turn unto me and I will return unto you, saith the Lord. I will open upon you the sluices of heaven, and turn away from you my wrath, until all shall be yours in abundance, and your vineyards and your fields shall not fail. But ye have blasphemed against me, saying, 'Vain is he who works for God.'" (*Mal.* iii, 5–14.) "They honor me with their lips, but their heart is far from me." (*Is.* xxix, 13.)

For this reason we do not receive what we ask, since the Lord has said, "It shall come to pass that when ye call upon me I shall not hear you, ye evil ones shall seek me and not find me." (*Prov.* i, 29.) Ye have not desired to walk in my path; therefore heaven is closed, or else opens only for a fell purpose, sending down hail instead of rain, or destroying the harvests with frost and tormenting the earth with drought because of our iniquities. But if we repent us of our sins, then he will grant to us as his children all our requests, and will water us with rain early and late, and our granaries shall be full of wheat. "Your vineyards and olive-groves shall abound, and I will restore to you the years which the locusts, the worms, and the caterpillars consumed, the great army that I sent among you," saith the Lord Almighty. (*Joel*, ii, 23–25.) Having heard these words, let us apply ourselves to good, seek justice, and free the oppressed. Let us do penance, not returning evil for evil nor slander for slander, but let us rather bind ourselves with love to the Lord our God. [170] Let us wash away all our transgressions with fasting, with lamentation, and with tears, nor call ourselves Christians as long as we live like pagans.

Do we not live like pagans as long as we attach superstitious significance to meetings? For he turns back who meets a monk, a boar, or a swine. Is that not pagan? It is part and parcel of the devil's teaching to retain such delusions. Other people attach special significance to sneezing, which is healthy for the head. By these and other similar customs the devil deceives us, and he alienates us from God by all manner of craft, through trumpets and clowns, through harps and pagan festivals. For we behold the playgrounds worn bare by the footsteps of a great multitude, who jostle each other while they make a spectacle of a thing invented by the devil.

The churches still stand; but when the hour of prayer is come, few worshippers are found in the church. For this reason we shall suffer at the hand of God all sorts of chastisement and the incursion of our foes, and at the command of God we shall endure punishment for our sins.

Let us now return to our subject. When Izyaslav, accompanied by Vsevolod, had fled to Kiev, while Svyatoslav had taken refuge in Chernigov, the men of Kiev who had escaped to their native city held an assembly on the market place and sent the following communication to the Prince: "The Polovcians have spread over the country. Oh Prince, give us arms and horses, that we may offer them combat once more." [171] Izyaslav, however, paid no heed to this request. Then the people began to murmur against his general Constantine. From the place of assembly, they mounted the hill, but when they arrived before the house of Constantine, they could not find him. They then halted before the house of Bryachislav and proposed that they should go and liberate their friends from prison. They then separated into two parties: half of them went to the prison, and half over the bridge. The latter contingent arrived before the Prince's palace, and as Izyaslav was sitting with his retinue in his hall, the crowd below began to shout at him. As the prince and his retainers were watching the crowd from a small window, Tuky, the brother of Chud, called to Izyaslav's attention that the people were aroused, and suggested that he should send men to guard Vseslav. While he was thus speaking, the other half of the crowd approached from the prison, which they had thrown open. The retainers, remarking that the situation had become serious, urged the Prince to send pursuers after Vseslav who should entice him to a window by a ruse and then slay him with the sword. Izyaslav, however, did not heed their advice. The mob then gave a shout and went off to Vseslav's prison. When Izyaslav beheld their action, he fled with Vsevolod from the palace. But on September 15, the people thus haled Vseslav from his dungeon, and set him up in the midst of the prince's palace. They then pillaged the palace, seizing a huge amount of gold and silver, furs, and marten-skins. Izyaslav made his escape to Poland.

While the Polovcians were ravaging throughout the land of Rus, Svyatoslav was meanwhile at Chernigov. [172] As soon as the pagans raided around Chernigov itself, Svyatoslav collected a small force and sallied out against them to Snovsk. The Polovcians remarked the approaching troop and marshaled their forces for resistance. When Svyatoslav observed their numbers, he said to his followers, "Let us attack, for it is too late for us to seek succor elsewhere." They spurred up their horses, and though the Polovcians had twelve thousand men, Svyatoslav won the day with his force of only three thousand. Some of the pagans were killed outright, while others were drowned in the Snov, and their prince was captured on November 1. Svyatoslav thus returned victorious to his city. Vseslav was meanwhile ruling in Kiev.

God thus revealed the power of the Cross, since Izyaslav violated his oath upon it when he took Vseslav prisoner. It was for that reason that God inspired the incursion of the pagans, and from this calamity the true Cross obviously delivered us. For, on the day of the Elevation, Vseslav sighed, and uttered this prayer: "Oh true Cross, inasmuch as I have believed in thee, free me from this abyss!" God demonstrated the power of the Cross as an admonition to the land of Rus that its people should not violate the true Cross after sealing their oaths by kissing it. If anyone sins against the Cross, he shall suffer not only punishment in this world, but also everlasting chastisement in the next. For great is the power of the Cross. By the Cross are vanquished the powers of the devil. The Cross helps our princes in combat, and the faithful who arm themselves with the Cross conquer in battle the foes who oppose them. For the Cross speedily frees from danger those who invoke it with faith. [173] If a man be importuned by devils, a sign of the Cross on the face drives them away. Now Vseslav remained in Kiev for the space of seven months.

6577 (1069). Reinforced by Boleslav, Izyaslav marched to attack Vseslav, who went forth to meet them, and arrived at Byelgorod. But during the night, he hid himself from the men of Kiev, and fled from Byelgorod to Polotzk. Then the men of Kiev saw on the morrow that their prince had fled, they returned to Kiev, and after calling an assembly, they sent messages to Svyatoslav and Vsevolod saying, "We did wrong in expelling our Prince, and now he leads the Poles against us. Return to your father's city. If you refuse to return, then we have no alternative but to burn our city and depart to Greece." Svyatoslav replied, "We shall communicate with our brother. If he marches upon you with the Poles to destroy you, we shall fight against him, and not allow him to destroy our father's city. If his intentions are peaceful, then he shall approach with a small troop." Then the people of Kiev were pacified.

Svyatoslav and Vsevolod then sent messengers to Izyaslav, announcing that Vseslav had fled, and requesting him accordingly not to lead his Poles in attack upon Kiev, because no one was really opposing him. They also let it be understood that if he intended to nurse his wrath and destroy the city, they would be properly concerned for the ancestral capital. When Izyaslav received these tidings, he left the Poles and came forward, accompanied only by Boleslav himself and a small Polish escort. He sent his son Mstislav ahead of him into Kiev, and upon the latter's arrival, he slew those who [174] had freed Vseslav, to the number of seventy, blinded others, and executed without any investigation others who were entirely innocent. When Izyaslav arrived at the city, the inhabitants went forth to welcome him, and the men of Kiev received him as their Prince. He scattered the Poles to forage, and then had them secretly killed. Boleslav then returned to his native country. Izyaslav transferred the market place to the hill, and drove Vseslav out of Polotzk, where he set up his own son Mstislav. But the latter soon died, and Izyaslav enthroned in his stead his brother Svyatopolk, since Vseslav was fled.

6578 (1070). A son was born to Vsevolod, and he named him Rostislav. In this year was founded the Church of St Michael in Vsevolod's monastery.

6579 (1071). The Polovcians raided about Rostovetz and Neyatin. In this year, Vseslav expelled Svyatopolk from Polotzk. In the same year, Yaropolk defeated Vseslav near Golotichesk.

At this time, a magician appeared inspired by the devil. He came to Kiev and informed the inhabitants that after five years the Dnieper would flow backward, and that the various countries would change their locations, so that Greece would be where Rus was, and Rus where Greece was, and that other lands would be similarly dislocated. The ignorant believed him, but the faithful ridiculed him and told him that the devil was only deluding him to his ruin. This was [175] actually the case, for in the course of one night he disappeared altogether. For devils, after once encouraging a man, lead him to an evil fate, then laugh him to scorn, and cast him into the fatal abyss after they have inspired his words. In this connection we may discuss infernal incitation and its effects.

While there was famine in the district of Rostov, two magicians appeared from Yaroslavl and said that they knew who interfered with the food supply. Then they went along the Volga, and where they came to a trading-post, they designated the handsomest women, saying that one affected the grain, another the fish, and another the furs. The inhabitants brought into their presence their sisters, their mothers, and their wives, and the magicians in their delusion stabbed them in the back and drew out from their bodies grain or fish. They thus killed many women and appropriated their property. Then they arrived at Byeloozero, and about three hundred men accompanied them. At that moment it happened that Yan, son of Vyshata, arrived in that neighborhood to collect tribute in behalf of Svyatoslav. The people of Byeloozero recounted to him how two magicians had caused the death of many women along the Volga and had now arrived in their district. Yan inquired whose subjects they were, and upon learning that they belonged to his Prince, he directed their followers to surrender the magicians to him, since they were subjects of his own Prince. When they refused to obey his command, Yan wanted to go unarmed in search of the magicians, but his companions [176] warned him against such action, urging that the magicians might attack him. Yan thus bade his followers to arm themselves; there were twelve of them with him, and they took their way through the forest in pursuit of the magicians. The latter arranged their forces to offer resistance, and when Yan advanced with his battle-axe, one of their number approached Yan and said to him, "You advance to certain death; go no farther." But Yan gave the order to strike him down, and then moved upon the rest. They gathered together to attack Yan, and one of them struck at him with his axe, but Yan warded off the blow and struck him in the neck. Then he bade his followers cut them down, but the enemy fled into the forest after killing Yan's priest. Yan returned to the town and the people of Byeloozero, and announced to them that if they did not surrender those magicians to him, he would remain among them for a year.

The people of Byeloozero then went forth and captured the magicians, whom they brought into Yan's presence. He asked them why they had caused the death of so many persons. They replied, "Because they prevent plenty, and if we remove them, abundance will return. If you so desire, we shall extract from their bodies grain or fish or any other object in your presence." Yan declared, "Verily that is a lie. God made man out of earth; he is composed of bones and has veins for his blood. There is nothing else in him. He knows nothing, and it is God alone who possesses knowledge." The magicians then asserted that they knew how man was made. When Yaroslav asked them how, they replied, "God washed himself in the bath, and after perspiring, [177] dried himself with straw and threw it out of heaven upon the earth. Then Satan quarreled with God as to which of them should create man out of it. But the devil made man, and God set a soul in him. As a result, whenever a man dies, his body goes to the earth and his soul to God." Yan then made answer, "It is indeed the devil who has put you to this mischief. In what god do you believe?" They answered, "In Antichrist." He then inquired of them where their god had his abode, and they replied that he dwelt in the abyss.

Then Yan asked, "What sort of god is that which dwells in the abyss? That is a devil. God dwells in heaven, sitting upon his throne, glorified by the angels who stand before him in fear and dare not look upon him. He whom you call Antichrist was cast out from the number of these angels and expelled from heaven for his presumption. He dwells indeed in the abyss, as you say, and there abides until God shall come from heaven to seize this Antichrist, and bind him with bonds, and cast him out, when he shall have taken him captive with his minions and those who believe in him. As for you, you shall endure torment both in my hands here and now, and also in the life after death." The magicians retorted that their gods made known to them that Yan could do them no harm, but Yan answered that their gods were liars. They then asserted their right to stand before Svyatoslav, and that Yan had no jurisdiction over them. Yan, however, ordered that they should be beaten and have their beards torn out. When they had been thus beaten, and after their beards had been pulled out with pincers, Yan inquired of them what their gods were saying at the moment. They made answer, "That we should stand before [178] Svyatoslav." Yan then directed that they should be gagged and bound to a yoke. Thereupon he sent them on before him by boat, and himself followed after. The party halted at the mouth of the Sheksna, and Yan said to the magicians, "What do your gods now make known to you?" They replied, "Our gods tell us that we shall not escape you alive." Yan remarked that the information supplied by their gods was entirely correct. They then urged that if he released them, it would bring him much advantage, but that if he destroyed them, he should suffer much trouble and evil. Yan retorted that if he let them go he would be more likely to be punished by God.

Then Yan said to the boatmen, "Has any relative of any one of you been killed by these men?" One of them answered that his mother had thus been killed, while another mentioned his sister and another his relatives. So Yan ordered them to avenge their kinsfolk. They then seized and killed the magicians, whom they hanged upon an oak tree. They thus deservedly suffered punishment at God's hand. After Yan had departed homeward, a bear came up the next night, gnawed them and ate them up. Thus they perished through the instigation of the devil, prophesying to other people, but ignorant of their own destruction. For if they had really known the future, they would not have come to that place where they were destined to be taken captive. After being thus captured, why did they declare that they would not die, even while Yan contemplated killing them? But of such nature is the instigation of devils; for devils do not perceive man's thought, though they often inspire thought in man without knowing his secrets. [179] God alone knows the mind of man, but devils know nothing, for they are weak and evil to look upon.

We shall now proceed to discuss their appearance and their magic. At about the same time, it happened that a certain man from Novgorod went among the Chuds, and approached a magician, desiring to have his fortune told. The latter, according to his custom, began to call devils into his abode. The man of Novgorod sat upon the threshold of that same house, while the magician lay there in a trance, and the devil took possession of him. The magician then arose, and said to the man from Novgorod, "The gods dare not approach, since you wear a symbol of which they are afraid." The Novgorodian then bethought him of the cross he wore, and went and laid it outside the house. The magician then resumed his calling of the devils, and they shook him, and made known why the stranger had come. Then the Novgorodian inquired of the magician why the devils were afraid of the cross they wore. The magician made answer, "That is the token of God in heaven, of whom our gods are afraid." Then the man of Novgorod asked who his gods were and where they dwelt. The magician replied, "In the abysses; they are black of visage, winged and tailed, and they mount up under heaven obedient to your gods. For your angels dwell in heaven, and if any of your people die, they are carried up to heaven. But if any of ours pass away, they are carried down into the abyss to our gods." And so it is; for sinners abide in hell in the expectation of eternal torment, [180] while the righteous associate with the angels in the heavenly abode.

Such is the power and the beauty and the weakness of demons! In this way they lead men astray, commanding them to recount visions, appearing to those who are imperfect in faith, and exhibiting themselves to some in sleep and to others in dreams. Thus magic is performed through infernal instigation. Particularly through the agency of woman are infernal enchantments brought to pass, for in the beginning the devil deceived woman, and she in turn deceived man. Thus even down to the present day women perform magic by black arts, poison, and other devilish deceits. Unbelievers are likewise led astray by demons.

Thus in ancient days, in the time of the Apostles, there lived Simon Magus, who through his magic caused dogs to speak like men, and changed his own aspect, appearing sometimes old, sometimes young, and sometimes he even changed one man to the semblance of another, accomplishing this transformation by his magic art. Jannes and Jambres wrought marvels against Moses through enchantment, but eventually they had no power against him. Kunop also practised devilish arts, such as walking upon the water; and he performed other prodigies, being misled by the devil to his own and others' destruction.

A magician likewise appeared at Novgorod in the principate of Gleb. He harangued the people, and by representing himself as a god he deceived many of them; in fact, he humbugged almost the entire city. For he claimed to know all things, and he blasphemed against the Christian faith, announcing that he would walk across [181] the Volkhov River in the presence of the public. There was finally an uprising in the city, and all believed in him so implicitly that they went so far as to desire to murder their bishop. But the bishop took his cross, and clad himself in his vestments, and stood forth saying, "Whosoever has faith in the magician, let him follow him; but whoever is a loyal Christian, let him come to the Cross." So the people were divided into two factions, for Gleb and his retainers took their stand beside the bishop, while the common people all followed the magician. Thus there was great strife between them.

Then Gleb hid an axe under his garments, approached the magician, and inquired of him whether he knew what was to happen on the morrow or might even occur before evening. The magician replied that he was omniscient. Then Gleb inquired whether he even knew what was about to occur that very day. The magician answered that he himself should perform great miracles. But Gleb drew forth the axe and smote him, so that he fell dead, and the people dispersed. Thus the man who had sold himself to the devil perished body and soul.

6580 (1072). The relics of the holy martyrs Boris and Gleb were transported to their final resting place. Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod, the sons of Yaroslav, gathered together, and with them the Metropolitan George, Bishop Peter of Pereyaslavl, Bishop Michael of Yuryev, Theodosius the Prior of the Crypt Monastery, Sophronius the Prior of St Michael's, Germanus the Prior of St Savior's, Nicholas the Prior of Pereyaslavl, and all the other priors. They instituted a festival and celebrated it with splendor, and they laid the relics in the new church founded by Izyaslav, which is still standing. First of all, Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod took the relics of Boris in a wooden casket and carried it upon their shoulders, [182] while monks preceded them holding candles in their hands. After them came deacons with tapers, and then priests, and following the latter the Bishops accompanied by the Metropolitan. Last came the bearers of the casket. They transported it into the new church, and when they opened the casket, the church was filled with sweetness and fragrance. When they perceived this miracle, they glorified God. Fear overcame the Metropolitan, for he had been uncertain in his faith concerning the relics; he therefore prostrated himself and begged for forgiveness. After kissing the relics of Boris, they placed them in a stone coffin. Then they took Gleb in a stone coffin and laid it upon a sled, which they pulled along by means of ropes attached to it. When they arrived at the church-door, the coffin stopped, and would not move further. Then they bade the people cry, "Kyrie eleison," and thus moved it through. The relics were thus laid away on May 2. When a liturgy had been sung, the brethren dined together, each with his boyars and in great affection. At this time Chudin governed Vyshegorod, and Lazarus was in charge of the church. The brethren then departed to their several districts.

6581 (1073). The devil stirred up strife among these brothers, the sons of Yaroslav. When disagreement thus ensued among them, Svyatoslav and Vsevolod united against Izyaslav. The latter left Kiev, but Svyatoslav and Vsevolod arrived there upon March 22 and established themselves on the throne at Berestovoye, though they thus transgressed against their father's injunction. Svyatoslav was the instigator of his brother's expulsion, for he desired more power. He misled Vsevolod by asserting that Izyaslav was entering into an alliance with Vseslav for the purpose of attacking them, [183] and by this means he irritated Vsevolod against Izyaslav. Now Izyaslav took considerable treasure with him on his flight into Poland with the intention of recruiting supporters there. But the Poles robbed him of all his property, and expelled him from their boundaries. Svyatoslav thus ruled in Kiev after the expulsion of his brother, and thus broke the injunction of his father and of God. For it is a great sin to break the commandment of one's father. It was the sons of Ham who first attacked the land of Seth, but suffered the chastisement of God four hundred years later. From the race of Seth are sprung the Hebrews, who overcame the nation of the Canaanites, and seized the ancestral portion and the territory of the latter. Then Esau broke his father's command and suffered death; for it is not good to encroach upon another's possessions.

In this year the Church of the Crypts was founded by the Prior Theodosius and the Bishop Michael, while George the Metropolitan was absent in Greece and Svyatoslav was reigning in Kiev.

6582 (1074). Theodosius, the Prior of the Crypt Monastery, passed away. We shall therefore supply a brief account of his assumption. When the Lenten season approached, upon the eve of Quinquagesima Sunday, Theodosius was accustomed, after he had embraced the brethren according to his practice, to instruct them how to pass the Lenten period in prayer by night and by day, and how to guard against evil thoughts and the temptations of the devil. "For," said he, "demons incite in monks evil thoughts and desires, [184] and inflame their fancy so that their prayers are impaired. One must combat such thoughts when they come by using the sign of the Cross and by saying, 'Lord Jesus Christ our God, have mercy on us, Amen!' With this end in view, we must practise abstinence from many foods, for evil desires develop out of excessive eating and immoderate drinking, and by the growth of such thoughts sin is caused. By this means," said he, "oppose yourselves to the influence of the demons and their malice, guard against laziness and too much sleep, be zealous in churchly song, in the traditions of the fathers, and in the reading of the Scriptures. For it befits monks above all things to have upon their lips the Psalter of David, and thereby to expel the weaknesses caused by the devil. It befits all young persons to show toward their elders love, obedience, and attention, and it behooves all older persons to offer the younger brethren their love and admonition, and to be an example by their continence and vigil, their self-restraint and humility, to counsel and console the youthful, and to spend Lent in such pursuits."

"For," he added, "God has given us these forty days in which to purify our souls. This is a tithe given to God by the body. For the days of the year are three hundred and sixty-five, and giving to God each tenth day as a tithe makes a fast of forty days, during which the soul is cleansed and happily celebrates the resurrection of the Lord as it rejoices in God. For the Lenten season purifies the heart [185] of man. In the beginning, fasting was first imposed upon Adam, so that he should not taste of one tree. Moses fasted forty days to prepare himself to receive the law upon Mt Sinai, and then he beheld the glory of God. During a fast, Samuel's mother bore him. Through their fasting, the Ninevites averted the wrath of God. By his fasting, Daniel prepared himself for great visions. After his fast, Elijah was taken up to heaven to receive celestial sustenance. Through their fasting, the Three Children quenched the violence of the fire. And our Lord, by fasting forty days, made known to us the Lenten season. By means of their fasting, the Apostles rooted out the teaching of the devil. By virtue of their fasts, our fathers appeared to the world as beacons that continue to shine after their decease. They exhibited great labors and continence; for example, the great Antonius, Euthymius, Savva, and the other fathers. Let us imitate them, my brethren."

After thus instructing the brotherhood, he kissed them, calling each by name, and then left the monastery, taking with him but a few loaves of bread. He entered a crypt, closed the door behind him, and covered himself with dust. He spoke to no one, unless some object was needful to him, and in any case he conversed only on Saturday and on Sunday through a small window. Upon other days, he remained in fasting and in prayer, maintaining strict abstinence. He returned to the monastery on the eve of Friday, St Lazarus' day. For on this day ends the forty days' fast, which opens on the first Monday after the week of St Theodore and concludes on Friday, the feast of St Lazarus. Holy Week [186] is then observed as a fast on account of our Lord's passion. Theodosius thus returned according to his custom, embraced the brethren, and with them celebrated Palm Sunday.

When Easter Day came, he celebrated it brilliantly as usual, and then fell ill. When he was taken ill, and had been sick for five days, he bade them carry him in the evening down into the courtyard. The brethren laid him upon a sled and set him before the church. He then desired that the whole brotherhood should be summoned, so the brethren struck upon the bell, and all assembled together. Theodosius then said to them, "My brethren, my fathers, and my children! I now depart from you, for God made known to me, while I was in the crypt during the Lenten season, that I must now quit this world. Whom do you desire for your prior, that I may confer my blessing upon him?" They made answer, "You have been a father to us all. Whomsoever you yourself select shall be our father and our prior, and we shall obey him even as we obey you." Then our father Theodosius said, "Go apart from me and designate him whom you desire, except the two brothers Nicholas and Ignatius: but choose from the rest whomever you prefer, from the eldest down to the youngest."

They obeyed his behest, and upon withdrawing a short distance in the direction of the church, they took counsel together, and then sent two of the brethren back to Theodosius to beg him to designate the one chosen by God and his own holy prayer, and who should be agreeable to Theodosius himself. Theodosius then made answer, "If you desire to receive your prior from me, then I will appoint him not so much from my own choice as by divine disposition," and he designated the presbyter James. [187] This nomination did not meet with the approval of the brotherhood, who objected that James had not taken orders in the monastery, since he had come thither from Letetz with his brother Paul. They demanded rather Stephen the Cantor, who was then a pupil of Theodosius, and therefore said, "He has grown up under your hand and has served with you; appoint him as our prior."

Then Theodosius said, "By the commandment of God, I designated James, but you prefer that the appointment should coincide with your own wishes." He gave way to their desire, however, and appointed Stephen to be their prior, and blessed him, saying, "My son! I give over to you this monastery. Guard it with care, and maintain what I have ordained in its observances. Change not the traditions and the institutions of the monastery, but follow in all things the law and our monastic rule."

The brethren then raised him up, carried him to his cell, and laid him upon his bed. At the beginning of the sixth day, while he was seriously ill, Prince Svyatoslav came to visit him with his son Gleb. While the Prince was sitting beside him, Theodosius said, "I depart from this world and entrust this monastery to your guardianship in the event that some disorder arises in it. I confer the priorate upon Stephen; desert him not in his hour of need." The Prince embraced him, and after promising to care for the monastery, departed from him. When the seventh day was come, while Theodosius was steadily growing weaker, he summoned Stephen and the brotherhood, and spoke to them these words: "Upon my departure from this world, if I have found favor with God and he has accepted me, then this monastery, after my decease, will grow and prosper through his help. In that event, know that God has accepted me. But if, after my death, the monastery begins to lose in membership [188] and income, be assured that I shall not have found favor in the sight of God." When he had spoken thus, the brethren wept, saying, "Father, intercede with God for us, for we know that he will not scorn your labors." They thus sat out the night with him, and at the beginning of the eighth day, being the second Saturday after Easter, in the second hour of the day, he commended his soul into the hands of God, upon May 3, in the eleventh year of the indiction. The brethren thus mourned for him.

Theodosius had given command that he should be buried in the crypt where he had performed many good works. He had also directed that his body should be buried by night, and they followed his injunction in this respect. When evening was come, the brethren took up his body and laid it in the crypt, after conducting it thither in all honor with hymns and candles to the glory of our God Jesus Christ.

While Stephen governed the monastery and the pious flock that Theodosius had gathered, these monks shone out like bright beacons throughout the land of Rus. Some of them were constant in fasting, some in vigil, some in genuflexion, some in fasting one day or twain, others in living on bread and water only, still others in subsisting solely on boiled vegetables, and others only on cheese. They dwelt in love, while the younger brethren obeyed the elder, not venturing to speak in their presence, but always comporting themselves obediently and with great consideration. Likewise the elder also gave proof of their love for their younger associates, admonished them, and consoled them like beloved sons. If any brother fell into some sinful way, they consoled him, and three or four of them shared the penance of one brother out of their great affection for him. Such was the brotherly love and such the continence in this monastery. If any brother quit the monastery, all the rest were deeply afflicted on his account, [189] sent in search of him, and recalled him to the monastery. All the brethren then appeared before the prior, and kneeling at his feet, they besought him in their brother's behalf, and received him again into the community with joy. Such was their charity, their continence, and their austerity. I shall mention a few eminent figures from their number.

The first is Damian the presbyter. He was so austere and temperate that he lived only on bread and water till his death. If anyone brought to the monastery a child that was ill and suffering from any disease, or if an adult beset by any illness came to the monastery in search of the great Theodosius, the prior commanded this Damian to offer a prayer in behalf of the patient. When he had then prayed and applied an ointment, those who had thus come to him were healed. When he himself fell sick and lay in his weakness at the point of death, an angel came to him in the semblance of Theodosius, and promised him the kingdom of heaven as a reward for his labors. A little later Theodosius himself came with the brethren and when he sat down beside the sick man, Damian in his weakness looked up at the prior and said, "Forget not, father prior, what you have promised me." The great Theodosius understood forthwith that he had seen a vision, and said to him, "Brother Damian, that which I have promised shall be fulfilled." Damian then closed his eyes and commended his soul into the hands of God. The prior and his brethren then buried his body.

There was likewise another brother named Jeremy, who remembered the conversion of Rus. [190] God had conferred upon him the gift of prophecy, and if he beheld any brother lost in reflection, he reproved him in secret and adjured him to guard against the devil. If any brother was contemplating desertion from the monastery and Jeremy perceived his intent, he sought him out, reproved his thought, and consoled that brother. If he made any prophecy, whether good or evil, the ancient's word was fulfilled.

There was another ancient named Matthew, who also had the gift of second sight. When he was once standing in his place in the church, he lifted up his eyes, and on glancing at the brethren who stood singing on either side of him, he beheld a devil in the guise of a Pole, who carried in a fold of his garment certain flowers called *lepki*. As this devil circulated among the brethren, he took a flower from his bosom and threw it at one of them; and if the flower attached itself to any one of the brethren who were singing, that brother, after standing awhile and weakening in endurance, sought some pretext and left the church. He then went to his cell and fell asleep, and did not return to the church before the close of the service. If the demon cast the flower at some other brother and it did not attach itself to him, he stood firm during the singing until the matins were over, and then went forth to his cell. When the old man beheld this occurrence, he reported it to his brethren.

Upon another occasion, the ancient observed another curious occurrence. When the old man, according to his custom, had once celebrated matins before dawn, the brethren had all departed to their cells, while he followed them somewhat later out of the church. As he walked along alone, he sat down to rest [191] under the bell, since his cell was rather far from the church. Then he noticed a crowd of people issuing forth from the gate, and as he raised his eyes, he saw one person who rode upon a swine, while others ran after him. Then the old man inquired of them whither they were going. Then the demon who rode upon the swine replied, "After Michael Tolbekovich." The old man straightway made the sign of the cross and went on to his cell. When day had dawned, the ancient reflected, and bade the porter go and inquire whether Michael was in his cell. The answer was returned that he had just jumped from the palisade after matins. The old man then recounted his vision to the prior and his brethren. During the lifetime of this venerable friar, Theodosius passed away, Stephen became prior, and then Stephen was succeeded by Nikon. Once while he was at matins, he raised his eyes to look upon Nikon the Prior, and saw an ass standing in the prior's place, so that he understood that the prior had not yet arisen. The ancient likewise beheld many other visions, and died in this monastery at a ripe old age.

There was also another monk named Isaac. While still in the world, he was very rich, since in the secular life he was by birth a merchant of Toropetz. But he resolved to become a monk, and distributed his fortune to the needy and to the monasteries. He then approached the great Antonius in the crypt, and besought him to receive him into the order. Antonius accepted him, and put upon him the monastic habit, calling him [192] Isaac, for his secular name was Chern. Isaac adopted an ascetic mode of life. He wrapped himself in a hair-shirt, then caused a goat to be bought, flayed it, and put on the skin over his hair-shirt, so that the fresh hide dried upon him. He shut himself up in a lonely gallery of the crypt in a narrow cell only four ells across, and there lamented and prayed to God. His sustenance was one wafer, and that only once a day, and he drank but moderately of water. The great Antonius carried it to him, and passed it in to him by a little window through which he inserted his arm. Thus Isaac received his food. He subsisted thus for seven years without seeing the light of day or even lying down upon his side, for he snatched what sleep he could in a sitting posture.

Once, when evening had fallen, he had knelt till midnight singing psalms, as was his wont, and when he was wearied, he sat down upon his stool. As he sat there, and had as usual extinguished his candle, a light suddenly blazed forth in the crypt as if it shone from the sun, and strong enough to take away man's vision. Two fair youths then approached him. Their faces were radiant like the sun, and they said to him, "Isaac, we are angels; Christ is drawing near to you. Fall down and worship him." He did not understand their devilish artifice nor remember to cross himself, but knelt before the work of the demons as if to Christ himself. The demons then cried out and said, "Now, Isaac, you belong to us." They led him back into his cell and set him down. They then seated themselves around him, and both the cell [193] and the aisle of the crypt was filled with them. One of the devils, who called himself Christ, bade them take flutes and lyres and lutes and play, so that Isaac could dance before them. So they struck up with flutes, lutes, and lyres, and began to make sport of him. After they had tormented him, they left him half alive, and went away when they had beaten him.

The next day at dawn, when it was time to break bread, Antonius came to the window according to his custom and said, "May the Lord bless you, father Isaac." But there was no answer. Then Antonius said, "He has already passed away," so he sent into the monastery in search of Theodosius and the brethren. After digging out the entrance where it had been walled up, they entered and lifted him up, thinking him dead, and carried him out in front of the crypt. They then perceived that he was still alive, and Theodosius the prior said, "This comes from the devil's artifice." They laid him upon a bier, and Antonius cared for him.

About this same time it happened that Izyaslav returned from Poland, and was angry with Antonius on account of Vseslav, so that Svyatoslav caused Antonius to escape by night to Chernigov. When Antonius arrived there, he was attracted by the Boldiny hills, and after digging another crypt, he settled there. At that spot in the Boldiny hills, there is a monastery dedicated to the Virgin even to this day. When Theodosius learned that Antonius [194] had fled to Chernigov, he came with his brethren, took Isaac, and bore him to his own cell, where he cared for him. For Isaac was so weakened in body that he could not turn from one side to the other, nor rise up, nor sit down, but he lay always upon one side, and relieved himself as he lay, so that numerous worms were caused under his back by his excrement. Theodosius washed and dressed him with his own hands, and for two years cared for him thus. It is wondrous and strange that he lay thus for two years, tasting neither bread nor water nor any other food nor fruit, nor did he speak with his tongue, but lay deaf and dumb for the whole two years.

Theodosius prayed to God in his behalf, and offered supplications over him by day and by night, until in the third year he spoke and heard, rose upon his feet like a babe, and began to walk. He would not go faithfully to church, but the brethren carried him thither by force; they also taught him to go to the refectory, but seated him apart from the rest of the brethren. They set bread before him, but he would not take it unless they placed it in his hand. Theodosius then said, "Leave the bread before him, but do not put it in his hand, so that he can eat of his own volition." For a week he ate nothing, but gradually he became aware [195] of the bread and tasted it. Thus he began to eat, and by this means Theodosius freed him from the craft of the devil.

Isaac then assumed severe abstinence. When Theodosius was dead and Stephen was prior in his stead, Isaac said, "Demon, you deceived me once when I sat in a lonely spot. I must not confine myself in the crypt, but must vanquish you while I frequent the monastery." He then clad himself in a hair-shirt, and put on over this a sackcloth coat, and began to act strangely. He undertook to help the cooks in the preparation of food for the brotherhood. He went to matins earlier than the others, and stood firm and immovable. When winter came with its heavy frosts, he stood in shoes so worn that his feet froze to the pavement, but he would not move his feet till matins were over. After matins, he went to the kitchen, and made ready the fire, the water, and the wood before the other cooks came from the brotherhood.

There was one cook who was also named Isaac, who mocked at Isaac and said, "There sits a black crow; go and catch it." Isaac bowed to the ground before him, then went and caught the crow, and brought it back to him in the presence of all the cooks. They were frightened and reported it to the prior and the brotherhood, who began to respect him. But not being desirous of human glory, he began to act strangely, [196] and to play tricks, now on the prior, now on the brethren, and now on laymen, so that the others dealt him blows. Then he began to wander through the country, acting like an idiot. He settled in the crypt where he had formerly lived, for Antonius was already dead. He gathered young men about him and laid upon them the monastic habit, so that he suffered blows from the Prior Nikon as well as from the parents of these youths. But he suffered these hardships, and willingly endured blows and nakedness and cold by day and by night.

One night he lit the stove in a cabin by the crypt. When the stove was heated, fire began to issue forth from the crevices, for it was old and cracked. Since he had nothing to put over the stove, he braced his bare feet against the flame till the stove burned out, and then left it. Many other stories were told about him, and I myself witnessed some such occurrences.

Thus he won his victory over the demons, holding their terrors and apparitions of as little account as flies. For he said to them, "You did indeed deceive me the first time in the crypt, since I did not perceive your craft and cunning. But now that I have on my side the Lord Jesus Christ and my God and the prayers of my father Theodosius, I hope to vanquish you." Many times the demons harassed him, and said, "You belong to us, for you have worshipped us and our leader." [197] But he replied, "Your chief is Antichrist and you are demons," and signed his countenance with the Cross. At this they disappeared. Sometimes, however, they came upon him again by night, and frightened him in his dreams, appearing like a great company with mattocks and spades, and saying, "We will undermine the crypt, and bury this man within it," while others exclaimed, "Fly, Isaac, they intend to bury you alive." But he made answer, "If you were men, you would have come by day; but you are darkness and come in darkness, and the darkness shall swallow you up." Then he made the sign of the Cross against them, and they vanished.

On other occasions, they endeavored to terrify him in the form of a bear, sometimes as a wild beast and sometimes as a bull. Now snakes beset him, and now toads, mice, and every other reptile. But they could not harm him, and said to him, "Isaac, you have vanquished us!" He replied, "You conquered me in the image of Jesus Christ and his angels, of whose sight you are unworthy. But now you rightly appear in the guise of beasts and cattle or as the snakes and reptiles that you are, repulsive and evil to behold." Thereupon the demons left him, and he suffered no more evil at their hands. As he himself related, his struggle against them lasted for three years. [198] Then he began to live still more strictly, and to practise abstinence, fasting, and vigil.

After thus living out his life, he finally came to his end. He fell sick in his crypt, and was carried in his illness to the monastery, where he died in the Lord upon the eighth day. The Prior John and the brethren clothed his body and buried him.

Such were the monks of the monastery of Theodosius, who shine forth like radiant beacons since their decease, and intercede with God in behalf of the brethren here below, as well as for the lay brotherhood and for those who contribute to the monastery in which to this day the brotherhood abides together in virtuous life amid hymns, prayers, and obedience, to the glory of Almighty God, and protected by the intercession of Theodosius, to whom be glory, Amen.

6583 (1075). The crypt church was continued on its foundation by Stephen the Prior. For Theodosius began its foundation, while Stephen continued it thereon, until it was completed on July 11 of the third year of its construction. Ambassadors from Germany came to Svyatoslav in this year, and in his pride, he showed them his riches. They beheld the innumerable quantity of his gold, silver, and silks, but remarked, "This is nothing, for it lies dead. Servants are preferable to this treasure, for vassals [199] can win still greater wealth." Thus Hezekiah, King of the Jews, boasted before the ambassadors of the King of Assyria, and all his treasures were carried away to Babylon. Likewise after Svyatoslav's death all his riches were scattered.

6584 (1076). Vladimir, son of Vsevolod, and Oleg, son of Svyatoslav, went forth to aid the Poles against the Czechs. In this year Svyatoslav, son of Yaroslav, died from the cutting of a sore, and was buried in Chernigov at St Savior's. On January 1, Vsevolod succeeded to his throne. In this year, a son was born to Vladimir; he was named Mstislav, and was grandson of Vsevolod.

6585 (1077). Izyaslav advanced with Polish support, and Vsevolod went forth against him. Boris settled at Chernigov on May 4; his reign lasted eighty days until he fled to join Roman in Tmutorakan. Vsevolod went to Volyn to attack his brother Izyaslav. Peace was concluded, so that Izyaslav came and settled in Kiev on July 15. Oleg, the son of Svyatoslav, was with Vsevolod at Chernigov.

6586 (1078). Oleg, son of Svyatoslav, fled from Vsevolod to Tmutorakan on April 10. In this year, Gleb, the son of Svyatoslav, was killed in Zavolochye. Gleb was kindly toward the poor and hospitable to strangers, zealous toward the church, warm in faith, peaceful, and fair in appearance. He was laid to rest [200] in the Church of Our Savior at Chernigov on July 23.

While Svyatopolk, the son of Izyaslav, was ruling at Novgorod in his stead, and while Yaropolk was reigning in Vyshegorod and Vladimir at Smolensk, Oleg and Boris led the pagans to attack Rus, and fell upon Vsevolod with their Polovcian reinforcements. Vsevolod advanced to meet them as far as the Sozh. The Polovcians then vanquished the Russes, and many lost their lives. Ivan, son of Zhiroslav, and Tuki, the brother of Chud, along with Porei and many others, met their death there on August 28. Oleg and Boris arrived before Chernigov, thinking they had won, and they visited much harm upon the land of Rus. They shed Christian blood, which God will avenge upon them, and they will have to answer for their destruction of Christian souls.

Vsevolod joined his brother Izyaslav at Kiev, and after embracing each other, they settled there. Vsevolod then reported all that had occurred. Then Izyaslav said to him, "Brother, do not sorrow. Do you not see what misfortune has happened to me? Did they not first expel me and confiscate my possessions? And what was later my second fault, that I was driven out by you, my own brethren? Have I not wandered through foreign lands, and suffered the loss of my estate? I had done no wrong. Let us therefore not give way to sorrow now, my brother. We shall each of us have his share in Rus, and if we lose it,

[201] then I am ready to lay down my life for you." With these words he consoled Vsevolod, and ordered that warriors old and young should be gathered together.

Izyaslav set out with Yaropolk his son, and Vsevolod went forth with his son Vladimir. They arrived before Chernigov, but the inhabitants barricaded themselves within the city. Oleg and Boris were not there. Since the citizens of Chernigov would not open the gates, the brethren attacked the city. Vladimir made his attack at the eastern entrance, where he captured the gates from the guards. They thus opened the outer city and set fire to it, while the inhabitants fled to the inner city. Izyaslav and Vsevolod then learned that Oleg and Boris were on the way to attack them, and hurriedly sallied forth from the city to meet Oleg. Oleg then suggested to Boris that they should not attack, for they could hardly withstand four princes, and he therefore proposed that they should make some proposition to their uncles. Boris replied, "Behold our present strength; I will rather fight them all." He boasted exceedingly, because he did not know that God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble, so that the strong man may not boast of his strength.

They then advanced to the attack at a place called the Nezhatina plain, and when both forces met, the carnage was awful. Boris, the son of Vyacheslav, who had so proudly boasted, was the first to fall. While Izyaslav was standing among the foot-soldiers, one man suddenly rode up and struck him in the shoulder with his spear. Thus Izyaslav, the son of Yaroslav, met his death. While the battle was still in progress, Oleg himself fled with a small escort, and escaped with difficulty. [202] He took refuge in Tmutorakan.

Prince Izyaslav was killed on October 3. His body was taken up, and after it was transported by boat, it was laid before Gorodetz. The whole city of Kiev went forth to meet it. It was laid upon a sledge, and the priests and the friars escorted it with their chants into the city. But their chanting could not be heard for the lamentation and great mourning, since the whole city of Kiev bewailed him. Yaropolk followed the body, weeping with his retinue. "Father, my father," he lamented, "hast thou lived without sorrow in this world, whilst thou didst suffer many assaults from thy people and thy brethren? He perished not by a brother's hand, but he laid down his life for his brother." His body was brought in and laid in the Church of the Holy Virgin, inclosed in a marble casket.

Izyaslav was a man fair of appearance and imposing in stature, not malicious in temper, but a hater of injustice and a lover of rectitude, In him there was no guile, for he was a simple man who did not render evil for evil. How much hardship the people of Kiev had visited upon him! They had expelled him and plundered his house, yet he did not requite these misdeeds with evil. If any man say, "The executioner has killed such and such a man," it was not Izyaslav who caused this deed, but his son. Then his brothers expelled him, and he went wandering through foreign lands. Later, when he was again restored to his throne, and Vsevolod sought refuge at his court, he did not ask of Vsevolod how much harm he had endured at Vsevolod's hands. He did not return evil for evil, but consoled his brother, saying, "Brother, you have proved your love for me, you have restored me to my throne, and [203] you have called me your chief. I will not remember former malice, for you are my brother and I am yours, and I will lay down my life for you," as indeed he did. He did not say to Vsevolod, "How much evil you have done me! Now in your good turn evil has befallen you." He did not say, "All this does not concern me," but instead he took upon himself his brother's sorrow, and proved his great love for him, thus fulfilling the words of the Apostle, "Console the sorrowful." (*I Thess.*, v, 14.) If he committed any sin in this world, verily shall it be forgiven him, because he laid down his life for his brother, not because he desired either a greater realm or greater wealth, but in consequence of his brother's wrongs.

The Lord has said of such men, "Let a man lay down his life for his friend." (*John*, xv, 13.) Solomon also said, "Brethren, be ready to aid one another in adversity." (*Prov.* xvii, 17.) For love is above all things, even as John said, "God is love. He who dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God dwelleth in him. Love is thus perfected that we may have dignity on the day of judgment, in order that as he is, so we may also be in this world. There is no fear in love, but perfect love casteth out fear, since fear hath torment, and he who is afraid is not perfect in love. If any man say, 'I love God,' and hateth his brother, it is a lie. How can he who hateth his brother whom he seeth love God whom he seeth not? We have this commandment from him, that he who loveth God shall love his brother also." (*I John*, iv, 16–18, 20–21.) For all is perfected in love. Through love sins are washed away, out of love the Lord descended to earth and was crucified for us [204] sinners, and after taking away our sins he was nailed to the Cross, thus giving us his Cross for the elimination of the devil's hatred. Out of love this Prince shed his blood for his brother, thus fulfilling the Lord's commandment.

Vsevolod reigned in Kiev on the throne of his father and his brother, after assuming the sovereignty over all Rus. He set up his son Vladimir at Chernigov and placed Yaropolk at the city of Vladimir, to which he added the district of Turov.

6587 (1079). Roman advanced with Polovcian forces as far as Voin, but Vsevolod remained near Pereyaslavl and made peace with the Polovcians. Roman returned homeward with them, but they killed him on August 2. The bones of Svyatoslav's son and Yaroslav's grandson still lie there even to this day. The Khazars took Oleg prisoner and shipped him overseas to Tsargrad. Vsevolod appointed Ratibor as his viceroy in Tmutorakan.

6588 (1080). The Torks of Pereyaslavl made an attack upon Rus. Vsevolod sent forth his son Vladimir, who went out and conquered them.

6589 (1081). David, the son of Igor, and Volodar, the son of Rostislav fled on May 18, and upon their arrival at Tmutorakan, they captured Ratibor and settled there as princes.

[205] 6590 (1082). Osen, Prince of the Polovcians, passed away.

6591 (1083). Oleg returned from Greece to Tmutorakan, and established himself there after he had captured David and Volodar. He slaughtered the Khazars who had counseled the death of his brother and had plotted against himself, but he released David and Volodar.

6592 (1084). Yaropolk came to visit Vsevolod upon Easter Day. At this time, the two sons of Rostislav had fled from Yaropolk, and later had returned and expelled him. Vsevolod then despatched his own son Vladimir to drive out the sons of Rostislav. He then set up Yaropolk as prince of the city of Vladimir. In this year, David made captives of the Greeks at Oleshki, and confiscated their property. Vsevolod sent after him, brought him to Kiev, and presented him with Dorogobuzh.

6593 (1085). Incited by evil advisers, Yaropolk planned an attack upon Vsevolod. When Vsevolod learned of his project, he sent his son Vladimir to oppose him. Yaropolk left his mother and his retainers at Lutzk and fled into Poland. When Vladimir arrived at Lutzk, the inhabitants surrendered. He set up David at the city of Vladimir in the place of Yaropolk, confiscated Yaropolk's property, and brought to Kiev his mother, his wife, and his retainers.

[206] 6594 (1086). Vsevolod founded the Church of St Andrew during the tenure of the holy Metropolitan John. Beside this church he also built a convent in which his daughter, Yanka by name, became a nun while still a maiden. This same Yanka assembled many nuns, and dwelt among them according to the monastic rule.

Yaropolk returned from Poland and made peace with Vladimir. The latter returned again to Chernigov, while Yaropolk took up his residence at the city of Vladimir. After remaining there a few days, he went to Zvenigorod. Before he had reached that city, he was struck down by the accursed Neradetz, who had been incited by the devil and by evil men. As he lay upon his sled, Neradetz killed him with his sword on November 22. Yaropolk raised himself up, drew the sword from his body, and cried out in a loud voice, "Ah, enemy, you have caught me!" The thrice accursed Neradetz fled to Rurik, in Przemysl. Yaropolk's escort, including Radko, Vykina, and many others, took Yaropolk on their horses before them, and carried him to the city of Vladimir, and thence to Kiev. The pious prince Vsevolod went out to meet him, accompanied by his sons Vladimir and Rostislav, by all the boyars, and by the blessed Metropolitan John with his monks and presbyters. All the people of Kiev raised great lamentation for him, and brought him with chants and hymns to St Demetrius'.

They then robed his body, and on December 5 laid it honorably in a marble casket in the Church of the Holy Apostle Peter, the construction of which he himself had previously begun. After suffering many misfortunes, expelled [207] by his brethren without cause, persecuted, and robbed of his patrimony, he endured in the end a bitter death. But he rendered himself worthy of everlasting life and repose. This blessed prince was calm, mild, moderate, and loving toward his brethren. He gave each year a tithe of his property to the Holy Virgin, and often addressed this prayer to God, saying, "Oh Lord my God! receive my prayer, and grant me a death by an unknown hand like that of my kinsmen Boris and Gleb, so that I may wash away my sin with my blood, and thus escape this vain world and its confusion, as well as the snares of the devil." Our gracious God did not deny his request, and he has attained such blessings "as eye hath not seen nor ear heard, and such as have not entered the heart of man, which God hath prepared for them that love him." (*I Cor.* ii, 9.)

6595–6596 (1087–1088). The Church of St Michael in Vsevolod's monastery was consecrated by the Metropolitan John, while Lazarus was prior of that monastery. In this same year, Svyatopolk departed from Novgorod to rule in Turov. In this year, Nikon, Prior of the Crypt Monastery, passed away. In this year, the Bulgarians captured Murom.

6597 (1089). The Crypt Church of the Holy Virgin in the Theodosian monastery [208] was consecrated by John the Metropolitan; Luke, Bishop of Byelgorod; Isaiah, Bishop of Rostov; John, Bishop of Chernigov; and Antonius, prior of St George's, in the reign of the noble prince Vsevolod, ruler of the land of Rus, and of his sons Vladimir and Rostislav, while Yan was captain of the Kiev thousand and John was prior.

In this year, John the Metropolitan passed away. John was a man versed in books and study, generous to the poor and to the widows, affable to both rich and poor, calm-tempered and mild, reticent yet eloquent, and able to console the sorrowful with words of Holy Scripture. There never was his like in Rus before him, nor will there be in later days.

In this year, Yanka, the above-mentioned daughter of Vsevolod, went to Greece. She brought back the Metropolitan John, a eunuch, and when the people saw him, they exclaimed, "A ghost has come." After staying a year in Kiev, he too died. He was not a learned man, but frank and simple in character.

In this year, the Church of St Michael at Pereyaslavl was consecrated by Ephraim, the Metropolitan of that church, which he had constructed upon a magnificent scale. For there had previously been a metropolitan church at Pereyaslavl to which he constructed a large addition, adorning it with all sorts of decorations and churchly vessels. Ephraim was a eunuch [209] of tall stature. At that time, he built many structures: he completed the Church of St Michael, founded a church at the city gates dedicated to the holy martyr Theodore, as well as another church dedicated to St Andrew near the church by the gates, and he also constructed a stone bathhouse such as had never heretofore existed in Rus. He likewise constructed a palisade of stone which started from the Church of the holy martyr Theodore, and embellished the city of Pereyaslavl with church buildings and other structures.

6599 (1091). The prior and the monks took counsel together, saying, "It is not meet for our father Theodosius to lie outside the monastery and the church, since he founded the church and gathered the monks together." After thus taking counsel, they directed that a place should be prepared in which to lay his bones. Three days before the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, the prior ordered that digging should begin at the place where the bones of our father Theodosius lay, and at his command, I, sinner that I am, was the first eyewitness of the attendant circumstances. What I here relate I did not learn by hearsay, but I was the initiator of it myself.

When the prior came to me and invited me to accompany him to the crypt of Theodosius, I went with him, and since no one knew our errand, we looked about where first to dig, and fixed upon a place near the entrance at which to excavate. The prior then said to me, "Do not make this known to any of the brethren, so that none may learn of it. But choose whom you will [210] to aid you." On that very day I therefore prepared spades with which to dig. On the evening of Tuesday, I took with me two brethren, keeping the rest in ignorance of our intent, and went to the crypt. After singing psalms, I began to dig. When I grew weary, I passed the spade to another brother, and so we dug on till midnight. When we were weary and could obtain no results from our digging, I began to be concerned for fear we were digging off at the side. So I took the spade and set myself to digging vigorously, while my companion rested in front of the crypt. He remarked to me that they had just rung the bell, and at that very moment I reached the relics of Theodosius. Even as he made the remark that they had just rung the bell, I made answer, "I have found them." When I had dug down to the relics, fear came over me, and I began to exclaim, "Kyrie eleison." At this same moment, two brethren were sitting in the monastery, looking toward the crypt and waiting till the prior, accompanied by various other monks, should bring out in secret the relics of Theodosius. As the bell rang, they saw three pillars of fire like rainbows which came and stood over the place where Theodosius was laid.

At the same time, Stephen, who had succeeded Theodosius as prior and was now a bishop, saw across country from his monastery a great light shining over the crypt. Thinking that they were transporting Theodosius (for he had been informed of their intentions a day previous), and regretting that Theodosius was being moved in his absence, he leaped upon a horse and quickly set out. He brought with him [211] Clement, whom he later appointed prior as his successor, and as they rode along they beheld a great light. When they drew near, they noticed many lights over the crypt, but when they came to the crypt itself, they saw nothing. They thus descended into the crypt, and found us seated beside the relics.

When I had dug them out, I sent word to the prior that he should join us that we might remove the relics. Thus the prior came with two other brethren. I dug out a large space, and when we stepped into it, we saw the relics lying there. The members were not separated, and the hair of the head still adhered. We laid them in a cloak, and carried them out in front of the crypt.

On the next day, the bishops assembled: Ephraim of Pereyaslavl, Stephen of Vladimir, John of Chernigov, Marinus of Yuryev; and the priors of all the monasteries came with their monks, while all pious citizens gathered. They took up the relics of Theodosius amid incense and candles, and then brought him into his church, where they laid him on the right side of the portico, on Thursday, August 14, in the fourteenth year of the indiction and at the first hour of the day. They celebrated that day solemnly.

Now I shall briefly relate how a prophecy of Theodosius was fulfilled. While he still exercised the priorship, and directed during his lifetime the flock of monks whom God had entrusted to his charge, he cared for the souls not only of the solitaries themselves, but also of laymen [212] to ensure their salvation; and he was especially zealous in the interest of his spiritual sons, for he consoled and admonished those who sought his aid, and at times even entered their homes and imparted his blessing to them. Sometimes he went thus to the house of Yan to visit him and his wife Maria, for Theodosius loved them, since they lived according to the commandments of the Lord and dwelt in affection with each other. On one occasion while he was visiting them, he instructed them concerning the giving of alms to the poor, the kingdom of heaven which the righteous shall inherit, the torments of sinners, and the hour of death. While he was thus discussing with them the laying of the body in the grave, Yan's wife said to him, "Who knows where I shall be laid to rest?" Theodosius made answer to her, "Verily I say unto you, where I lie, there shall you be laid also." His prophecy was actually fulfilled. For after the prior had died, his words were realized eighteen years later. In that year, on August 16, Yan's wife, by name Maria, passed away. The monks came, and after the customary hymns, they took her up and laid her in the Church of the Holy Virgin, on the left side opposite the tomb of Theodosius. Theodosius had been laid to rest on August 14, and she was buried on August 16.

Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of our blessed father Theodosius, that good shepherd who fed his wise sheep without hypocrisy, in mildness and in prudence, watching over them and protecting them, and abounding in [213] prayer for the flock entrusted to him, for the Christian nations, and for the land of Rus.

After thy departure from this world, thou prayest for all true believers and for thy disciples who, as they gaze upon thy tomb, recall thy instruction and thy abstinence, and glorify God. I thy sinful servant and disciple know not how to praise thy noble life and temperance. But this little I shall say: Rejoice, our father and leader, who hast rejected the tumult of the world, who hast loved tranquillity, and didst serve God in the peace of the monastic life. Thou hast acquired every divine attribute, exalted thyself with fasting, hated carnal lusts and indulgence, and has cast aside the beauty and the desire of this world, to follow in the footsteps of the sublime fathers and to rival them in their tranquillity. Thou hast exalted thyself and adorned thyself in thy moderation, and hast won happiness through the words of Holy Writ. Rejoice, thou who wast strengthened in hope, who hast attained eternal bliss. Through thy victory over carnal desire, the source of transgression and confusion, thou hast escaped the crafts of the devil and hast won thy repose among the righteous, where thou receivest requital for thy labors and art become the heir of the patriarchs, since thou hast followed their instruction, their usage, and their continence, and hast maintained their rule. Thou hast further imitated Theodosius the Great in thy character and thy mode of life, since thou didst follow his manner of living and imitated his continence, [214] and by the adoption of his habits thou hast advanced in perfection with thy every action, as thou didst offer the ritual petitions to God, and didst thus raise up the candle of prayer as an offering of sweet-scented incense in the perfume of gratitude. Having conquered earthly lust and the ruler of this world, having trampled underfoot our adversary the devil and his wiles, thou hast stood forth the victor through thy opposition to his hostile darts and proud devices, since thou wast strengthened through God's help in the armor of the Cross and in faith immutable. Pray for me, holy Father, that I may be freed from the snares of the devil, and guard me with thy prayers against the hostile adversary.

In this year, there was a portent in the sun, which seemed about to disappear. At the second hour of the day, on May 21, only part of it remained visible, approximating the size of the moon. In this year, while Vsevolod was hunting wild beasts behind Vyshegorod, and as the men were stretching snares and the beaters were shouting, a huge serpent fell from the sky, and all the people were terrified. At this time, the earth uttered a groan audible to many. In this year a magician appeared at Rostov, but perished shortly afterward.

6600 (1092). An extraordinary event occurred at Polotzk. At night there was heard a clatter and a groaning in the streets, and demons ran about like men. If any citizen went forth from his house to look upon them, he was wounded straightway by some invisible [215] demon, and so many perished from such wounds that the people dared no longer leave their houses. The demons later began to appear on horseback during the day. They were not visible themselves, but the hoofs of their horses could be seen. Thus they did injury to the people of Polotzk and the vicinity, so that it was commonly said that ghosts were killing the people of Polotzk. This portent had its beginning in Dryutesk. At this time, a sign appeared in the heavens like a huge circle in the midst of the sky. There was a drought in this year, so that the earth was burned over, and many pine forests and peat-bogs were consumed. There were many portents in various localities, and incursions of the Polovcians were reported from all quarters. They captured three cities, Pyesochen, Perevoloka, and Priluk, and ravaged many villages on both banks of the Dnieper. In this year, Rurik, the son of Rostislav, passed away. At the same time, many died of various diseases, so that the undertakers asserted that in the interval between St Philip's Day and Lent they had sold seven thousand coffins. This misfortune was occasioned by our sins, because our transgressions and our unrighteousness had increased. God brought this calamity upon us as a summons to repent and to renounce sin, envy, and other evil works of the devil.

6601 (1093), the first year of the indiction. The Great Prince Vsevolod, the son of Yaroslav [216] and the grandson of Vladimir, died on April 13, and was buried the next day on Thursday of Holy Week. Upon that day he was committed to the tomb in the great Church of St Sophia. From his childhood, the pious Prince Vsevolod had been a servant of God. He loved justice, aided the poor, rendered due honor to bishops and priests, loved monks exceedingly, and ministered to their necessities. He abstained from drunkenness and indulgence, and was therefore beloved of his father, so that the latter said to him, "My son, may God bless you, since I hear of your meekness, and I rejoice that you have rendered my old age peaceful. If God grant that you succeed your brothers upon my throne justly and without the exercise of violence, may you lie beside my tomb where I lie when God takes you from this world, for I love you more than your brethren." This prayer of his father was fulfilled according as he had said, for after the decease of his brethren, Vsevolod inherited the throne of his father as their successor, though while he reigned at Kiev he faced greater obstacles than had beset him when he was Prince in Pereyaslavl.

While he ruled in Kiev, he suffered distress at the hands of his nephews, who importuned him with their demands for various domains. After he had pacified them, he bestowed various domains upon them. During these troubles, he was afflicted also by sickness, [217] to which old age was added. He then began to take pleasure in the opinions of young men, and consulted with them. They induced him to withdraw his favor from his older retainers. The people no longer had access to the Prince's justice, judges became corrupt and venal, and the Prince in his illness was ignorant of these abuses. When his illness was aggravated, he summoned his son Vladimir from Chernigov, and when Vladimir, upon his arrival, found him critically ill, he wept sorely. Vsevolod thus passed away quietly when his hour came, in the presence of Vladimir and of Rostislav, his younger son, and rejoined his father, after he had ruled for fifteen years in Kiev and a year each in Pereyaslavl and Chernigov. After he had mourned with his brother Rostislav, Vladimir laid his father's body in the tomb. After the bishops, the priors, the monks, the priests, the boyars, and the common people had assembled together, they took up the corpse with the customary hymns and laid it in St Sophia, as we said before.

Vladimir now reflected that if he succeeded immediately to the throne of his father, he would become involved in hostilities with Svyatopolk, because the throne of Kiev had belonged to that Prince's father. After thus taking thought, he summoned Svyatopolk from Turov, while he himself departed to Chernigov and Rostislav to Pereyaslavl. When Easter was over [218] and the week after Easter had passed, Svyatopolk arrived at Kiev on April 24, the first Sunday after Easter. The inhabitants of Kiev went forth to meet him and offer him homage, and welcomed him joyously. He thus occupied the throne of his father and his uncle. At this moment, the Polovcians attacked Rus, but when they learned that Vsevolod was dead, they sent propositions for peace to Svyatopolk. Without consulting with the numerous adherents of his father and his uncle, but taking counsel only with those who had accompanied him to the capital, Svyatopolk seized the Polovcian envoys and cast them into prison. When the Polovcians heard of this outrage, they immediately declared war. A large force of them thus laid siege to the city of Torchesk. Being desirous of peace, Svyatopolk released the Polovcian envoys.

The Polovcians, however, were not anxious for peace, and continued their attacks. Svyatopolk then set out to recruit a force with the intention of attacking them. The wise men advised him not to oppose the nomads, since his force was small. He replied that he had eight hundred of his followers who could easily withstand them. Other rash advisers urged him to pursue his project, but the wiser heads informed him that even if he had a force of eight thousand, it would be none too strong. They reminded him that the country was already impoverished by war and taxes, and suggested that he should ask his cousin Vladimir [219] for aid. Svyatopolk followed their advice, and sent to Vladimir a request for assistance. Vladimir assembled his troops, and requested his brother Rostislav at Pereyaslavl to give Svyatopolk his support as well. When Vladimir arrived at Kiev, the cousins met at St Michael's, and composed between them their quarrels and disagreements. They were thus reconciled, and kissed the Cross to seal their compact. While the Polovcians were ravaging the countryside, the wise counsellors said to the princes, "Why do you allow discord to part you? Behold, the pagans lay waste the land of Rus. You may arrive at an understanding at some later time, but for the present go out and meet the pagans either to conclude a peace or to wage war." Vladimir favored a peace, but Svyatopolk was for war.

Svyatopolk, Vladimir, and Rostislav thus proceeded to Trepol. They arrived at the Stugna, and before crossing the river, they called their followers into consultation and began to deliberate. Vladimir suggested that in view of the present danger they had better remain on the near side of the river and make peace with the Polovcians. Yan and the other prudent men supported this opinion, but the men of Kiev were not in accord with it, and urged the crossing of the river because they were eager to fight. This counsel found favor, and they crossed the river Stugna, which at the moment was considerably swollen. After marshaling their troops, Svyatopolk, Vladimir, and Rostislav [220] then moved forward. Svyatopolk marched on the right wing, Vladimir on the left, and Rostislav led the centre. When they had passed Trepol, they passed the rampart. Then the Polovcians advanced to the attack with their bowmen in the van. When our men took position between the ramparts, the pagans set up their standards, and the bowmen advanced from their encampment. The Polovcians reached the rampart, raised their standards, and first attacked Svyatopolk, whose troop they broke up. Svyatopolk made a firm stand, but his soldiers fled without resisting the pagan onslaught, and he himself was obliged to flee also. The Polovcians then attacked Vladimir. The battle was fierce, and Vladimir took to flight with Rostislav. In their flight, they arrived at the river Stugna, and dived in. Rostislav straightway began to drown before Vladimir's very eyes. He was anxious to save his brother, and almost perished himself in the attempt. But Rostislav, the son of Vsevolod, thus met his death.

Vladimir swam the river with a small escort, for many of his troop and his boyars had fallen. When he arrived at the other bank of the Dnieper, he bewailed his brother and his vassals, and thus returned to Chernigov heavy with sorrow. Svyatopolk escaped to Trepol and there barricaded himself. He remained there till evening, and during the night departed for Kiev.

Upon perceiving their victory, the Polovcians scattered upon marauding expeditions [221] throughout the countryside, while others returned to Torchesk. This misfortune occurred on May 26, the day of the Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ. Those who searched for Rostislav's body found it in the stream, and they brought it back to Kiev. His mother wept over him, and the people pitied him greatly because of his youth. The bishops, the monks, and the priests assembled to sing the usual hymns, and they laid him to rest beside his father in the Church of St Sophia. While the Polovcians were besieging Torchesk, the inhabitants resisted and fought boldly from the town, so that they killed many of the enemy. The Polovcians then began to press them hard and cut off their water supply, so that the inhabitants weakened from hunger and thirst. They thus sent messages to Svyatopolk to inform him that unless he sent them food supplies they would be obliged to surrender. Svyatopolk despatched the supplies, but because of the multitude of the besiegers it was impossible to introduce them into the town. When the enemy had thus beleaguered the town for nine weeks, they divided into two parties, one of which remained near the city to prosecute the siege, while the rest marched toward

Kiev and scattered on raiding parties between Kiev and Vyshegorod. Svyatopolk sallied forth as far as Zhelan, where the two forces advanced to the attack. When the battle-lines met, a fierce combat ensued, but our men fled before the pagans, and many perished, even a larger number than at Trepol. Svyatopolk [222] arrived at Kiev with two companions, and the Polovcians returned to Torchesk. This sad event took place on July 23. Upon the next day, that is, on July 24, the festival of the holy martyrs Boris and Gleb, there was no joy in the city, but only lamentation, because of our manifold sins and unrighteousness and for the multiplication of our transgressions.

God sent the pagans upon us, not because he held them dear, but to chastise us that we might abstain from evil deeds. He thus punishes us by the incursions of the pagans (for they are the scourge of God), that we may perhaps repent and turn from our wicked way. For this reason, God visits us with affliction upon festal days, just as in this year the first catastrophe, which occurred at Trepol, took place on Ascension Day, while the second occurred on the feast of Boris and Gleb, which is a new festival in Rus. It was thus that the prophet said, "I will change your feasts to mourning and your songs to lamentation." (*Amos*, viii, 10.) For God caused great mourning in our land; our villages and our towns were desolated, and we fled before our foes.

As the prophet said, "Ye shall be slain before your enemies; they that hate you shall oppress you, and ye shall flee when none pursueth you. I will break the arrogance of your pride, and your strength shall be spent in vain. The sword of the stranger shall kill you, your land shall be desolate, and your courts laid waste. [223] For ye are worthless and contrary, and I will walk contrary to you also in anger, saith the Lord God of Israel." (*Lev.* xxvi, 17–33.) For the malignant sons of Ishmael burned villages and granges, and consumed many churches with fire.

Let no one marvel at these misfortunes, for condign chastisement ensues wherever many sins are committed. For this reason the world shall ultimately come to its end. For this same reason, malice has now been spread abroad, and our own native land has fallen a prey to torment: some of our compatriots are led into servitude, others are slain, and some are even delivered up to vengeance and endure a bitter death. Some tremble as they cast their eyes upon the slain, and others perish of hunger and thirst. Universal sorrow and universal chastisement prevail. Our people suffer many wounds, various woes, and awful tortures. Some of them are bound and trampled underfoot, exposed to the chill of winter, and sorely wounded. And what is stranger and more terrible, it is among a Christian nation that this fear and terror and distress has been spread abroad.

Yet it is meet and right that we should be so chastised, and we suffer correction in proportion to our little faith. We have deserved to be delivered into the hands of an alien people, the most fearsome of all the world. Let us therefore cry aloud, "Righteous art thou, oh Lord, and righteous are thy judgments." (*Ps.* cxviii, 137.) Let us say like the thief upon the cross, "We receive the due reward of our deeds." (*Luke*, xxiii, 41.) Let us exclaim with Job, "It hath been as the Lord appointed; blessed be the name of the Lord forever." (*Job* i, 21.) Through the incursions of the pagans and the torments which we suffer at their hands may we come to know the Lord whom we have angered. Though glorified by him, we have not glorified him; though honored by him, we have not honored him; though hallowed, [224] we have not understood it; though redeemed, we have not requited our redemption; reborn to righteousness, we have not revered our father. We are punished for our sins, we suffer in proportion to our misdeeds. All our cities are desolate, our villages are laid waste. We traverse the fields where horses, sheep, and cattle once grazed in herds, and behold them desolate. The meadows are grown wild, and have become the lairs of wild beasts. Yet we still hope in the mercy of God; for the blessed Lord punishes us with kindly intent. "He hath not dealt with us after our sins, nor rewarded us according to our iniquities." (*Ps.* ciii, 10.) It is thus meet for the blessed Lord to punish us not in strict proportion to the multitude of our inquities, and even so has the Lord done unto us. For he restored his fallen creatures; he forgave the sin of Adam, and bestowed upon us the bath of purification when he shed his blood for us. When he beheld us living in unrighteousness, he brought upon us the present war and affliction so that even against our will we might find mercy in the life to come. For the soul that suffers in this world shall find in the next mercy and freedom from torment, for the Lord does not twice exact atonement for these transgressions. Ah, his ineffable love for humanity, when he beholds us returning to him even against our will! Ah, the depths of his love for us! Inasmuch as we voluntarily transgressed against his commandments, we must of necessity suffer chastisement against our will, and since we suffer against our will, let us at least endure with resignation. When was sorrow known among us heretofore? Yet now our whole life is full of tears. When was sighing ever heard among us? Yet weeping is now spread abroad through all the streets because of the dead whom the infidels have slain.

The Polovcians harried widely, and [225] then returned to Torchesk. The inhabitants were weakened by hunger, and therefore surrendered to the enemy. The Polovcians, upon taking the city, destroyed it by fire, divided the inhabitants, and led them away among their tents to their relatives and kin. A multitude of Christian people were thus reduced to dire distress: sorrowing, tormented, weak with cold, their faces ravaged with hunger, thirst, and misfortune, their bodies black with blows, as they made their painful way, naked and barefoot, upon feet torn with thorns, toward an unknown land and barbarous races. In tears they made answer one to another, saying, "I was of this city," and others, "I came from that village." Thus they tearfully questioned one another, and spoke of their families, as they sighed and lifted up their eyes to the Most High, who knoweth all secrets.

Let no one venture to say that we are hated of God, lest it might be so. For whom does God love, as he has loved us? Whom has he so glorified as he has glorified and exalted us? None. So much the more have we incurred his wrath because, being honored of God before all the rest, we sinned more flagrantly than all the rest. Since we were enlightened before all other men, but knew the Lord's will and scorned it, we are chastised more severely for our correction than other men. For sinner that I am, I anger God much and often, and commit some transgression every day.

On October 1 of this year, Rostislav, the son of Mstislav and the grandson of Izyaslav, passed away, and he was buried [226] on November 16 in the Church of the Holy Virgin of the Tithe.

6602 (1094). Svyatopolk made peace with the Polovcians, and took to wife the daughter of their prince Tugortkan. In this same year, Oleg arrived from Tmutorakan before Chernigov with a force of Polovcians. Vladimir fortified himself in the city. Oleg then approached and burned the environs, including the monasteries. Vladimir made peace with Oleg, and departed from Chernigov to occupy his father's throne in Pereyaslavl, while Oleg took possession of the city that had been his own father's. The Polovcians committed many depredations in the vicinity of Chernigov, and Oleg made no attempt to restrain them for the reason that he himself had inspired their raids. This was, in fact, the third time that he had led a force of pagans to attack Rus.

May God forgive his sin, for many Christians were destroyed, while others were taken captive and scattered throughout the lands.

On August 26 of the same year, a plague of locusts attacked Rus, and ate up all the grass and much grain. Such a visitation was unheard of in the early days of Rus, but in consequence of our sins, our eyes beheld it.

In this year, on April 27, at the sixth hour of the night, died Stephen, Bishop of Vladimir, who had formerly been Prior of the Crypt Monastery.

6603 (1095). The Polovcians under Leo son of Diogenes attacked Greece, and devastated the Grecian territory. [227] The Emperor captured Leo and had him blinded. In the same year, the Polovcians Itlar and Kytan came to Vladimir to sue for peace. Itlar entered the city of Pereyaslavl, while Kytan remained between the ramparts with his soldiery. Vladimir gave his son Svyatoslav as a hostage to Kytan, while Itlar remained in the city with an excellent escort. At this time, Slavyata was at Vladimir's court, whither he had come on a special mission from Svyatopolk in Kiev. The retainers of Ratibor now urged upon Vladimir the advisability of massacring Itlar's troop. Vladimir, however, was unwilling to do this deed, and averred that it was unthinkable, since he had given them pledges of safety. But his vassals replied, "Oh Prince, there is no sin entailed for you in this deed. They constantly swear oaths to you, and yet they bring incessant ruin on the land of Rus and constantly shed Christian blood." Vladimir then adopted their advice, and on that same night, sent Slavyata out between the ramparts with a small escort and some Torks. They first stole Svyatoslav away, and then killed Kytan and slew his retinue. It was then Saturday night. Itlar was passing the night in Ratibor's palace with his escort, completely ignorant of the fate of Kytan. On Sunday, the following day, Ratibor called his followers to arms, [228] and commanded them to heat a room. Vladimir then sent his servant Bandyuk to Itlar's troop with an invitation to join the prince after they had dressed in the heated room and breakfasted with Ratibor. Itlar accepted the invitation. But when they had entered the heated room, they were locked in. The Russes then climbed atop it, and made a hole in the roof. Then Olbeg, son of Ratibor, took his bow, and fitting an arrow to it, shot Itlar through the heart. They also killed his whole escort. Thus Itlar lost his life in evil fashion on February 24, the first Sunday in Lent, at the first hour of the day.

Svyatopolk and Vladimir summoned Oleg to join them in a foray against the Polovcians. After promising his aid, Oleg actually came, but did not follow the same route as the other princes. Svyatopolk and Vladimir arrived at the Polovcian encampment, captured it, and thus seized and led off to their own country the barbarians' cattle, horses, camels, and slaves. They then were wroth against Oleg because he had not joined their expedition against the pagans. They therefore sent to Oleg this message: "You did not accompany us upon our attack against the pagans who have brought ruin upon Rus. You have a son of Itlar at your court. Either kill him or deliver him up to us, for he is an enemy of Rus." [229] Oleg paid no attention to this demand, and there was enmity between them.

In this same year, the Polovcians appeared before Yuryev. They besieged the city for a whole year, and had almost reduced it when Svyatopolk succeeded in pacifying them. The Polovcians returned beyond the Ros, and the citizens of Yuryev abandoned their town and fled to Kiev. Svyatopolk ordered that a town should be built on the hill of Vitichev, and he bade the Bishop Marinus settle there with the people from Yuryev, Sakov, and other refugees from various localities. The Polovcians then burned the deserted town of Yuryev.

Toward the close of this year, David, the son of Svyatoslav, journeyed from Novgorod to Smolensk. The Novgorodians then went to Rostov in search of Mstislav, the son of Roman, and brought him to Novgorod as their prince, at the same time instructing David never to return. David thus returned to Smolensk and settled there, while Mstislav settled at Novgorod. About the same time, Izyaslav, the son of Vladimir, arrived at Murom from Kursk. The people of Murom accepted him as their prince, and he took captive the regent of Oleg. On August 28 of this year, locusts came and covered the land to an extent which was terrible to behold. They then went on northward, eating up the grass and grain.

6604 (1096). Svyatopolk and Vladimir summoned Oleg to come to Kiev, that they might conclude a convention as to the defence of Rus before the bishops and the priors and in the presence of the vassals of their fathers [230] and of the citizens, for the purpose of defending the country against the pagans. Oleg assumed an attitude of arrogance, and made reply that it was not proper for him to submit to the judgment of a bishop, of priors, or of the common people. He was unwilling to join his cousins, because he heeded evil counsel. Svyatopolk and

Vladimir then asserted, "You neither attack the pagans nor join us in counsel. You are plotting against us and desire to aid the pagans. God must judge between us." Svyatopolk and Vladimir then marched forth against Oleg to Chernigov. Oleg fled from the city on Saturday, May 3. Svyatopolk and Vladimir accordingly pursued him. Oleg escaped to Starodub, where he barricaded himself in the city. The other princes then laid siege to his position. The inhabitants made effective sallies from the town, while the beleaguers attacked it, so that the casualties were serious on both sides. The conflict thus raged fiercely. The besiegers remained before the town for thirty-three days, until the inhabitants weakened from hunger. Oleg then came forth from the city asking for peace. Svyatopolk and Vladimir granted his request, but directed him first to join his brother David, and then commanded that both of them should report in Kiev before the throne of their fathers and grandfathers, since it was fitting for them to gather and make their covenant at Kiev, the oldest city in the entire country. Oleg promised to follow these instructions, and confirmed his oath by kissing the cross.

[231] At this time, Bonyak and his Polovcians appeared before Kiev on a Sunday evening, and while ravaging the environs, they burned the prince's palace at Berestovoye. Kurya and another band of Polovcians ravaged simultaneously the environs of Pereyaslavl, and burned Ustye on May 24.

Oleg departed from Starodub and arrived at Smolensk. The people of Smolensk would not receive him, so that he went on to Ryazan. Svyatopolk and Vladimir returned each to his own domain.

In this same month, Tugortkan, the father-in-law of Svyatopolk, came to Pereyaslavl and laid siege to the city. The inhabitants fortified themselves for resistance, while Svyatopolk and Vladimir advanced against him down the west bank of the Dnieper. They arrived at Zarub and crossed the river without being detected by the Polovcians, for God protected them. They then marshaled their forces and advanced toward the city. When the inhabitants observed their approach, they rejoiced, and came forth to meet them, while the Polovcians were standing on the other bank of the Trubezh in battle array. Svyatopolk and Vladimir immediately crossed the river to engage the Polovcians. Vladimir first intended to reform his troop, but they did not await his command, and instead spurred up their horses against their adversaries. When the Polovcians beheld their charge, they turned in flight, and our men pursued the foemen, cutting down their opponents. Upon this day the Lord performed a great deliverance. The aliens were thus conquered on July 19. [232] Their prince Tugortkan was killed, and many others of our enemies fell. On the morrow, they found the dead body of Tugortkan, and Svyatopolk, respecting him as his father-in-law even though he was a foe, brought him to Kiev and buried him at Berestovoye, between the road to Berestovoye and the road to the monastery.

On Thursday, the twentieth of this same month, Bonyak, that godless, mangy thief and bandit, came suddenly to Kiev for the second time. The Polovcians almost entered the city, burned the suburbs about the town, and then attacked the monastery. After burning the monasteries of Stephen and Germanus together with the neighboring villages, they came to the Crypt Monastery while we were resting in our cells after matins, and they howled about the monastery. They planted two standards before the monastery gates, and we fled, some of us behind the building of the monastery, and others to its various rooms. The godless sons of Ishmael slew the brethren in the monastery and wandered about among the cells, breaking down the doors, and they carried off whatever they found in the various rooms. Then they set fire to the shrine of the Holy Virgin. Upon arriving before the church, they thus set fire to the south [233] and the north doors, and upon making their way into the chapel near the grave of Theodosius, they seized the eikons, burned the doors, and blasphemed against God and our faith. But God suffered their iniquities because their sins and their transgressions were not completed. Thus they said, "Where is their God? Let him come and deliver them," and they made other blasphemous remarks about the holy eikons, which they mocked, because they did not know that God punishes his servants by means of barbarian incursions that they may appear as gold which has been tried in the furnace. The Christians, by virtue of their many sufferings and oppressions, shall enter the kingdom of heaven, but these pagans and blasphemers, who in this world enjoy happiness and increase, shall suffer torment at the hand of the devil, since they are predestined to everlasting fire.

Then they burned the red palace which the pious prince Vladimir had constructed upon the hill called Vydobychi and consumed the whole of it with fire. Wherefore let us imitate the prophet David, and exclaim, "Oh Lord my God, make them as a whirling dust, as a fire before the face of the wind which consumeth the forests, so shalt thou pursue them with thy storm. Fill their countenances with shame." (*Ps.* lxxxiii, 14–17.) For they polluted and burned the sacred dwelling, the monastery of thy Mother, and the relics of thy servants. The godless sons of Ishmael, [234] who had been sent as a chastisement to the Christians, even killed with the sword some of our brethren.

They came forth from the desert of Yathrib in the northeast. Four races of them issued forth: Torkmens, Pechenegs, Torks, and Polovcians. Methodius relates concerning them that eight nations fled when Gideon massacred them; eight fled into the desert, and four he massacred. Others say that they are the sons of Ammon, but this is not true, for the Caspians are the sons of Moab, while the Bulgars are the sons of Ammon. But the Saracens descended from Ishmael became known as sons of Sarah, and called themselves *Sarakyne*, that is to say, "We are descendants of Sarah." Likewise the Caspians and the Bulgars are descended from the daughters of Lot, who conceived by their father, so that their race is unclean. Ishmael begot twelve sons, from whom are descended the Torkmens, the Pechenegs, the Torks, and the Kumans or Polovcians, who come from the desert. After these eight races, at the end of the world, shall come forth the unclean peoples shut up in the mountain by Alexander of Macedon.

I wish at this point to recount a story which I heard four years ago, and which was told to me by Gyurata Rogovich of Novgorod: "I sent my servant," said he, "to the Pechera, a people who pay tribute [235] to Novgorod. When he arrived among them, he went on among the Yugra. The latter are an alien people dwelling in the north with the Samoyedes. The Yugra said to my servant, 'We have encountered a strange marvel, with which we had not until recently been acquainted. This occurrence took place three years ago. There are certain mountains which slope down to an arm of the sea, and their height reaches to the heavens. Within these mountains are heard great cries and the sound of voices; those within are cutting their way out. In that mountain, a small opening has been pierced through which they converse, but their language is unintelligible. They point, however, at iron objects, and make gestures as if to ask for them. If given a knife or an axe, they supply furs in return. The road to these mountains is impassable with precipices, snow, and forests. Hence we do not always reach them, and they are also far to the north.'"

Then I said to Gyurata, "These are the peoples shut up by Alexander of Macedon. As Methodius of Patara says of them, 'He penetrated the eastern countries as far as the sea called the Land of the Sun, and he saw there unclean peoples of the race of Japheth. When he beheld their uncleanness, he marveled. They ate every nauseous thing, such as gnats, flies, cats, and serpents. They did not bury their dead, but ate them, along with the fruit of abortions [236] and all sorts of impure beasts. On beholding this, Alexander was afraid lest, as they multiplied, they might corrupt the earth. So he drove them to high mountains in the regions of the north, and by God's commandment, the mountains enclosed them round about save for a space of twelve ells. Gates of brass were erected there, and were covered with indestructible metal. They cannot be destroyed by fire, for it is the nature of this metal that fire cannot consume it, nor can iron take hold upon it. Hereafter, at the end of the world, eight peoples shall come forth from the desert of Yathrib, and these corrupt nations, which dwell in the northern mountains, shall also issue forth at God's command.'"

But let us return to the topic we were discussing. When Oleg promised to join his brother David in Smolensk and to return to Kiev with him and there conclude a treaty of peace, he had no intention of keeping his promise, but as soon as he arrived at Smolensk, he gathered troops and went on to Murom, over which then ruled Izyaslav, the son of Vladimir. When it became known to Izyaslav that Oleg was approaching Murom, he straightway summoned troops from Suzdal, Rostov, and Byeloozero, and thus collected a large force. Oleg then sent envoys to Izyaslav with the message, "Return [237] to your own father's district in Rostov, for this is my father's territory here. I intend to abide here and settle my account with your father, for he expelled me from my father's city. Are you unwilling to let me eat my daily bread here?"

Izyaslav relied on the number of his troops and paid no attention to this warning. Oleg counted, however, on his rights (for he was justified in his contention), and marched toward the city with his troops. Izyaslav took up his position on the plain before the town. Oleg then approached him with his force; the two parties met, and a fierce battle ensued. Izyaslav, the son of Vladimir and the grandson of Vsevolod, was thus slain on September 6. His followers fled, some through the forest and others into the city. Oleg entered the town and was well received by the citizens. They took up Izyaslav's body, and after laying him first in the Monastery of the Holy Savior, they carried him thence to Novgorod, where they buried him in St Sophia on the left side.

After the capture of the city, Oleg arrested the men of Rostov, Byeloozero, and Suzdal, fettered them, and then marched on Suzdal. When he arrived there, the inhabitants surrendered to him. Oleg, after pacifying the city, seized some inhabitants, and banished others, confiscating their property. He then went on to Rostov, and the inhabitants surrendered to him. He thus won the whole district of Murom and Rostov, appointed regents in each city, and began to exact tribute.

Mstislav then sent messengers to him from Novgorod and bade him depart from Suzdal to Murom, instead of settling in another's domain. Mstislav also promised to intercede with Vladimir [238] in Oleg's behalf so as to effect a reconciliation between the two princes. He added that Oleg's killing of his brother Izyaslav was not a matter for surprise, since both kings and commons meet their end in battles. Oleg by no means desired such a reconciliation, but rather had in mind the seizure of Novgorod as well. He therefore sent forth his brother Yaroslav as an outpost, and took up his position on the plain by Rostov.

After deliberation with the men of Novgorod, Mstislav despatched Dobrynya son of Raguel before him as a vanguard. Dobrynya first seized Oleg's tributaries. When Yaroslav, who was stationed on the Medvedetz as outpost, heard how he had seized these tributaries, he fled by night, and when he returned to Oleg in his flight, he informed him that Mstislav was on his way and that the tributaries had been seized. Oleg departed straightway for Rostov, and when Mstislav arrived at the Volga, he was duly informed of Oleg's departure thither. Mstislav then pursued him. Oleg went on to Suzdal, and upon hearing that Mstislav was on his trail, he directed that the city should be burned. Only the structure of the Crypt Monastery survived, together with the Church of St Demetrius, which Ephraim had donated together with certain villages. Oleg escaped thence to Murom. Mstislav eventually arrived at Suzdal, and while he was making a halt there, he sent envoys to Oleg and asked for peace, saying, "I am your junior. Send to my father and return to him the vassals whom you seized. I will then obey you in every respect." Oleg replied to him with a pretence of peaceful intent. Mstislav accepted his pretence as sincerity, and scattered his retainers among the villages.

Then came the week of St Theodore [239] just before Lent. On the Saturday of this week, while Mstislav was at dinner, he received news that Oleg was on the Klyazma, for he had approached undetected. Mstislav had had confidence in his word and had set no watches. But God knows how to save his pious followers from treachery. Oleg thus halted at the Klyazma, expecting that Mstislav would flee. On that day and the next, Mstislav's retainers rallied about him, comprising men from Novgorod, Rostov, and Byeloozero. Mstislav marshaled his troop and took his position before the city. Oleg did not advance against Mstislav nor did Mstislav advance against Oleg, and they stood over against each other for four days.

News then came to Mstislav that his father had despatched his brother Vyacheslav with Polovcian support. Vyacheslav arrived on the Thursday after St Theodore's week, and therefore during the first week of Lent. On Friday, Oleg marshaled his forces and approached the town, while Mstislav went out to meet him with men of Novgorod and Rostov. Mstislav entrusted Vladimir's standard to a Polovcian named Kunui, and detailing some foot-soldiers to his command, posted him on the right wing. Kunui took Vladimir's standard and led on his infantry. When Oleg beheld the standard, he was terrified, and fear beset him and his soldiery. They then joined battle against each other, Oleg against Mstislav and Yaroslav against Vyacheslav. Mstislav [240] crossed a burnt clearing with the men of Novgorod, and they clashed with the enemy at Kulachek. The combat was violent, and Mstislav began to win the upper hand. When Oleg saw how the standard of Vladimir advanced, he began to fall back. He finally fled in terror, and Mstislav won the victory. Oleg escaped to Murom, and after fortifying Yaroslav there, he went on to Ryazan. Mstislav then arrived at Murom, made peace with the inhabitants, and after releasing his men from Rostov and Suzdal, pursued Oleg to Ryazan.

Oleg escaped from that city, so that Mstislav on his arrival made peace with the inhabitants, and liberated those of his own subjects whom Oleg had thrown into prison. He then sent messages to Oleg, saying, "Flee no more, but rather approach your brethren with the request that they may not expel you from Rus. I shall intervene with my father in your behalf." Oleg promised to act accordingly. Mstislav, upon returning again to Suzdal, departed thence to his native city of Novgorod, accompanied by the prayers of the reverend bishop Nikita. These events occurred at the close of the year 6604 (1096), the fourth of the indiction.[1]

[256] 6605 (1097.) Svyatopolk, Vladimir, David son of Igor, Vasilko son of Rostislav, David son of Svyatoslav, and Oleg his brother met at Lyubech to make peace, and said to one another, "Why do we ruin the land of Rus by our continued strife against one another? The Polovcians harass our country in divers fashions, and rejoice that war is waged among us. Let us rather hereafter be united in spirit and watch over the land of Rus, and let each [257] of us guard his own domain: with Svyatopolk retaining Kiev, the heritage of Izyaslav, while Vladimir holds the domain of Vsevolod, and David, Oleg, and Yaroslav between them possess that of Svyatoslav. Let the domains apportioned by Vsevolod stand, leaving the city of Vladimir in the hands of David, while the city of Przemysl belongs to Volodar, and Vasilko holds Terebovl." On this convention they took oath to the effect that, if any one of them should thereafter attack another, all the rest, with the aid of the Holy Cross, would be against the aggressor. Thus they all said, "May the Holy Cross and the entire land of Rus be against him," and having taken oath, returned each to his domain. Accompanied by David, Svyatopolk arrived in Kiev, and all the people rejoiced. There was only the devil to be distressed by this display of affection.

Satan now incited certain men to report to David son of Igor that Vladimir was conspiring with Vasilko against Svyatopolk and against himself. David gave credence to their false words, and endeavored to stir up Svyatopolk against Vasilko, saying, "Who killed your brother Yaropolk? Now he plots against me and against you, and has conspired with Vladimir. Take thought for your own head." Svyatopolk was thus perturbed, and wondered whether these allegations were true or false. He was uncertain, and replied to David, "If you speak aright, may God be your witness. But if you speak from motives of jealousy only, God will punish you for it."

Svyatopolk was concerned for his brother and himself, and wondered whether the rumor were true. He finally believed David, who thus deceived Svyatopolk, and the two of them set out to plot [258] against Vasilko. Now Vasilko and Vladimir were ignorant of this fact. David remarked, however, that if he and Svyatopolk did not seize Vasilko, neither of them could be sure of the domains they then held. And Svyatopolk believed him.

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[1] At this point in the Laurentian text, the narrative is interrupted by the interpolation of the Testament of Vladimir Monomakh, for the text of which see Appendix I. See also Introduction, p. 104.

Vasilko arrived on November 4, crossed over to Vydobychi, and went to make his reverence to St Michael in the monastery, where he also supped. He pitched his camp on the Ruditsa. At evening, he returned to his camp. When it was morning, Svyatopolk urged him by messenger not to depart before his name-day. Vasilko refused, urging that he could not wait that long, or there would be disorder in his domain. Then David begged him not to depart, but rather to obey his elder kinsman. Vasilko, however, was still reluctant to comply.

Then David remarked to Svyatopolk, "See, he sets no store by you, though he is in your power. If he departs to his domain, you shall see whether he does not seize your cities of Turov and Pinsk, and other towns which belong to you; then you will perhaps remember my words. Call the men of Kiev and take him prisoner; then deliver him over to me." Svyatopolk followed his advice, and sent word to Vasilko, saying, "If you are unwilling to remain until my name-day, at least come and embrace me now, and then we shall meet with David." Vasilko promised to go, and did not perceive the treachery which David was planning against him. Vasilko thus mounted his horse and rode off. One of his servants then met him and urged him not to go, because the princes were plotting to take him prisoner. But Vasilko heeded him not, as he thought [259] to himself, "How can they intend to take me prisoner? They joined me in the oath that if any one of us should attack another, the Holy Cross and all of us should be against him." Having thus reflected, he crossed himself, and said, "God's will be done."

He thus rode with a small escort to the Prince's palace. Svyatopolk came out to meet him, and they went into the hall. David entered, and all sat down. Then Svyatopolk begged Vasilko to remain until the festival. Vasilko replied, "I cannot remain, kinsman; I have already ordered my camp to move forward." David sat silent as if struck dumb, till Svyatopolk invited Vasilko to breakfast with them, and Vasilko accepted. Then Svyatopolk said, "Remain seated here a moment while I go out and make certain dispositions." He thus went out, leaving David and Vasilko alone together. Vasilko tried to open a conversation with David, but there was no voice nor hearing in him, for he was afraid, and had treachery in his heart. After he had sat awhile, he inquired where his kinsman was. The answer was given that he was standing in the vestibule. David then rose and asked Vasilko to remain seated while he went in search of Svyatopolk. He thus stood up and went thence. When David had thus gone out, others seized upon Vasilko and fettered him with double fetters, setting guards over him by night. This treachery took place on November 5.

In the morning, Svyatopolk assembled the boyars and the men of Kiev and informed them of what David had told him, to the effect that Vasilko had been responsible for his brother's death, was plotting with Vladimir against him, and intended to kill him and seize his cities. The boyars and the populace replied, [260] "It behooves you, oh Prince, to protect your own life. If David spoke aright, let Vasilko suffer the penalty. If David has spoken falsely, let him suffer the vengeance of God and answer before God." When the priors heard of the circumstances, they interceded with Svyatopolk in Vasilko's behalf, but he protested that it was all David's affair. When David heard of all this, he urged that Vasilko should be blinded, on the ground that if Svyatopolk did nothing and released Vasilko, neither he himself nor Svyatopolk would be able to retain their thrones much longer. Svyatopolk was in favor of releasing him, but David kept close watch over him and would not consent.

During the night, they thus took Vasilko to Byelgorod, which is a small town ten versts from Kiev. They transported him fettered in a cart, and after removing him from the vehicle, they led him into a small house. As he sat there, Vasilko saw a Tork sharpening a knife, and then comprehending that they intended blinding him, he cried out to God with loud weeping and groaning. Then came the emissaries of Svyatopolk and David: Snovid, the son of Izech, the squire of Svyatopolk, and Dmitri, David's squire, and they laid a rug upon the floor. After they had spread it, they seized Vasilko and endeavored to overthrow him. He offered a violent resistance, so that they could not throw him. Then others came and cast him down. They bound him, and laid upon his chest a slab taken from the hearth. Though Snovid, the son of Izech, sat at one end and Dmitri at the other, they still could not hold him down. [261] Then two other men came, and after taking a second slab from the hearth, they too sat upon him, and weighed upon him so heavily that his chest cracked. Then a Tork, Berendi by name, a shepherd of Svyatopolk, came up with his knife, and though intending to strike him in the eye, missed the eye entirely and cut his face. This scar Vasilko bears to this day. Afterward, however, he struck him in one eye, and took out the pupil, and then in the other eye, and also removed the pupil of the latter.

At that moment Vasilko lay as if dead. They raised him in the rug, laid him fainting in the wagon, and carried him off to Vladimir. While he was being thus transported, they happened to halt with him at a market place after they had crossed the bridge at the town of Zvizhen. They took off his bloody shirt, and gave it to a priest's wife to wash. After she had washed it, the woman put it on him while the others were eating, and she began to weep, for he was as if dead. He heard her weeping, and inquired where he was. They replied that the town was Zdvizhden. He then begged for water. They gave him some, and after he had drunk the water, full consciousness returned to him. He remembered what had occurred, and feeling his shirt, he lamented, "Why did you take it from me? I had rather have met my death and stood before God in this bloody shirt."

When they had eaten, they rode on swiftly in the cart with him, and over a rough road, for it was then the month of *Gruden*, called November. They arrived with him at Vladimir [262] on the sixth day. David accompanied them, and behaved as if he had captured some prize. They quartered Vasilko in the Vakyeyev palace, and placed over him a guard of thirty men, as well as two servants of the Prince named Ulan and Kolchko.

When Vladimir learned that Vasilko was captured and blinded, he was horror-struck, and bursting into tears declared, "Such a crime as this has never been perpetrated in Rus in the time of either our grandfathers or our fathers." Then he immediately sent messages to David and Oleg, the sons of Svyatoslav, saying, "Come forthwith to Gorodetz, that we may avenge this crime which has occurred in the land of Rus among us kinsmen, and has cast a sword among us. If we do not avenge this deed, a greater crime will rise against us. Brother will begin to kill brother, so that the land of Rus will perish, and our foes the Polovcians will come and take it."

When David and Oleg heard these words, they were deeply troubled and wept, saying, "Such a thing never before happened in our family." They straightway collected troops and joined Vladimir. While Vladimir and his troops remained hidden in a forest, he and David and Oleg sent their messengers to inquire of Svyatopolk, "What is this crime you have committed in the land of Rus, and thus have cast a sword among us? [263] Why have you blinded your kinsman? If there was any charge against him, you should have accused him before us, and after properly convicting him you could then have treated him as he deserved. Now make plain this fault for which you so punished him."

Svyatopolk replied, "David, the son of Igor, said to me, 'Vasilko killed your brother Yaropolk, and likewise intends to kill you and seize your domain of Turov, Pinsk, Brest, and Pogorina. He has sworn an oath with Vladimir that Vladimir shall reign in Kiev and he himself in the city of Vladimir.' I had to take my precautions, but it was David and not I who blinded him and carried him home." Then the envoys of Vladimir, David, and Oleg made answer, "Do not seek to excuse yourself for this crime on the ground that David did the actual blinding. Vasilko was not seized and blinded in David's city, but in your own." When they had thus spoken, they departed.

On the morrow, when the princes intended crossing the Dnieper to attack Svyatopolk, the latter planned to escape from Kiev. The inhabitants would not permit his departure, but sent Vsevolod's widow and the Metropolitan Nicholas to Vladimir with the plea, "We beseech you, oh Prince, and your brethren not to ruin the land of Rus. For if you begin hostilities among yourselves, the pagans will rejoice and seize our country which was won by your sires and grandsires who, by waging war with great courage [264] throughout the land of Rus, added other territories to it. But you are in a fair way to destroy the whole country." The widow of Vsevolod and the Metropolitan came into the presence of Vladimir and made known their plea, expressing the prayer of the people of Kiev that he would conclude a peace, guard the land of Rus, and keep up the good fight against the pagans.

When Vladimir heard their request, he broke into tears and exclaimed, "Verily our fathers and our grandsires took thought for this land which we are trying to destroy." He inclined to the prayer of the Princess, and honored her as his mother out of pious memory of his father. For he had been very dear to his father, and never disobeyed him in any respect either during his lifetime or after his decease. Thus he obeyed her as he was bound to obey his mother, and he respected the Metropolitan as well (for he revered ecclesiastical rank), and did not disregard his plea. Vladimir was indeed considerate. He loved the metropolitans, the bishops, and the priors; and still more the monastic orders and the monks. Those who came to him in need he provided with food and drink as a mother aids her children. If he saw anyone uproarious or committing some excess, he did not condemn him, but rebuked all persons affably. But let us return to our subject.

When the Princess had visited Vladimir, she returned to Kiev, and recounted all his words to Svyatopolk and the inhabitants, announcing that there would be peace. The princes then exchanged communications, and agreed to suggest to Svyatopolk [265] that if David was responsible for the crime, then Svyatopolk should march against him and either capture him or drive him into exile. Svyatopolk accepted this proposal, so that all joined in an oath and thus made peace once more.

While Vasilko was at Vladimir in the aforementioned place, and Lent was approaching, and while I was myself there at Vladimir, Prince David sent for me during a certain evening, and I entered his presence. His retainers sat around him, and he offered me a seat. He then remarked, "Vasilko spoke this evening to Ulan and Kolchko saying, 'I hear that Vladimir and Svyatopolk are marching against David. If David would take my advice, he would send an envoy to Vladimir and beg him to turn back.' For I know what he thus discussed with them. For that reason, I choose you, Vasili, as my messenger. Go to your namesake Vasilko and bespeak him thus in my behalf: 'If you will send your messenger and Vladimir turns back, then I will give you any city you desire, either Vsevolozh, Shepol, or Peremil.'" I then went to Vasilko and reported to him all the words of David. He replied, "As a matter of fact, I did not utter these words. But I hope in God, and shall indeed send a messenger, that they may not shed blood for my sake. I am indeed surprised that he promises me his own city, but Terebovl is mine, my own domain, now and forever." Thus it came about that he soon recovered his domain. He then said to me, "Go to David and tell him to send Kulmei to me; I will despatch him to Vladimir."

David did not heed his request, [266] but instead sent back word through me that Kulmei was not there. Then Vasilko said to me, "Sit with me a little while." He thus bade his servant leave us, and as we sat together he remarked, "I hear that David wishes to surrender me to the Poles. He is not even satisfied with my blood, and desires the further satisfaction of delivering me up to them, for I have done the Poles much harm, and would gladly have done them still more to avenge the land of Rus. Yet even if he does surrender me to the Poles, I do not fear death. But this much I tell you: verily God has brought all this upon me for my pride, since, when the news came to me that the Berendiches, the Pechenegs, and the Torks were approaching, I thought that, when they should all be subject to me, I might request my kinsmen Volodar and David to lend me their younger retainers, while they themselves should drink and be happy. Then I hoped to invade Poland in winter and summer, subject the country of Poland, and thus avenge the land of Rus. I also planned to overcome the Danube Bulgarians and subject them to my authority. After that, I intended to request Svyatopolk and Vladimir to allow me to attack the Polovcians, that I might either win fame or lay down my life for our country. There was no other thought in my heart against either Svyatopolk or David, and I swear by God and his judgment that I did not plan any evil in any respect against my kinsmen, and it is only for my pride that God has humbled and humiliated me."

[267] Thereafter, when Easter was come, David set out with the intention of seizing Vasilko's domains. Volodar, Vasilko's brother, met him at Buzhsk. David did not dare to withstand him, but barricaded himself in Buzhsk, while Volodar laid siege to him in the city. Then Volodar demanded, "Why have you done evil and why do you not repent? Bear in mind what crimes you have committed." Then David endeavored to pass the blame upon Svyatopolk with the excuse, "Did I commit this crime, or was it perpetrated in my city? I was afraid that they might seize me and deal with me in the same way. I had to participate in their counsels since I was in their power." Volodar replied, "God is witness to that. But now release my brother, and I will make peace with you."

David rejoiced, and sent for Vasilko. He thus led him forth and turned him over to Volodar, and made peace, after which they parted. Vasilko settled at Terebovl, while David went to the city of Vladimir, and when spring was come, Volodar and Vasilko marched to attack David. They arrived at Vsevolozh, while David fortified his position at Vladimir. After laying siege to Vsevolozh, the princes captured the city by storm and set fire to it. As the inhabitants fled before the flames, Vasilko commanded that they should all be slain. Thus he took his revenge upon innocent people, and shed innocent blood.

They arrived soon thereafter at Vladimir, where David was fortified, and laid siege to the city. [268] They then sent messages to the inhabitants, declaring, "We have not come to attack your city, nor yourselves, but our hostility is directed against our enemies Turyak, Lazar, and Vasili, for they gave evil advice to David, and in accordance with their counsel he has committed this crime. If you wish to take up arms in their behalf, we are ready to fight. But you would be better advised to surrender our enemies." The citizens, upon the receipt of this message, called an assembly, and demanded of David that he should surrender the fugitives. They made it clear that while they were willing to fight for him, they would not take up arms for the fugitives, and threatened to open the city gates, leaving him to shift for himself. David was thus under the necessity of surrendering the fugitives. He pointed out, however, that they were not in the city, as he had sent them to Lutzk. After they had gone to Lutzk, Turyak fled to Kiev, while Lazar and Vasili returned to Turisk. When the inhabitants of Vladimir heard that they were in Turisk, they cried out upon David, and demanded that he should yield up those men whom the princes desired of him, or else they would surrender the city. David then obeyed, and brought forth Lazar and Vasili to deliver them up. On Sunday, peace was concluded, and at dawn on the following day Vasili and Lazar were hanged. Vasilko's men shot at them with arrows, and then left the city. Thus Vasilko exacted a second revenge, which was not fair to do, since God was the avenger, and Vasilko should have entrusted his vengeance to God. For the prophet has said, "I will render vengeance to mine enemies, and will reward them that hate me," (*Deut.* xxxii, 41), even as he avenges and ever shall avenge the blood of his children, [269] and shall perform vengeance upon his enemies and them that hate him.

When the foemen had left the city, the inhabitants cut down the bodies and burned them. Since Svyatopolk had promised to expel David, he went to Brest in Poland. When David heard of his journey, he set out to visit Vladislav in Poland in search of assistance. The Poles promised to aid him, and upon the receipt of fifty *grivni* of gold as a bribe, they proposed that he should go with them to Brest and surprise Svyatopolk while he slept, and thus effect a reconciliation between him and Svyatopolk. David followed their suggestion and accompanied Vladislav to Brest. Svyatopolk remained within the city, while the Poles stopped by the river Bug. Svyatopolk then made a compact with the Poles, and paid them large sums to turn against David. Vladislav thereupon informed David that Svyatopolk had not been amenable to his persuasion, and therefore recommended that he return home. David accordingly went back to Vladimir.

In accordance with his convention with the Poles, Svyatopolk moved on to Pinsk after he had summoned his troops. He arrived at Dorogobuzh and there waited his soldiery. He then marched against David in Vladimir. David fortified himself within the city, and expected help from the Poles against Svyatoslav, for they had promised to be his allies if the Russian princes attacked him. But they were deceiving him, since they had received bribes from both David and Svyatopolk. Svyatopolk laid siege to the city and remained before it seven weeks. Then David entreated him to let him depart from the city. Svyatopolk gave him his promise to this effect, and after they had exchanged pledges, David left the city and went to Cherven.

Svyatopolk entered the city on Holy Saturday, and David fled into Poland. After expelling David, Svyatopolk seriously considered an attack upon Volodar and Vasilko, on the ground that this was the domain of his father and his brother, and therefore marched forth against them. [270] When Volodar and Vasilko heard of this action, they proceeded to meet him, carrying with them the cross upon which he had sworn that he had come only to attack David, but was desirous of maintaining peaceful and friendly relations with them. Svyatopolk, notwithstanding, violated his oath, since he trusted in the number of his troops. The two parties met on the Rozhne plain, where both forces were drawn up, and Vasilko lifted up the cross, crying, "Here is the cross upon which you swore. First you stole the sight of my eyes, and now you desire to take my life as well. May this cross be between us!" They thus advanced to battle, and as the armies met, many pious men beheld the Cross lifted high above Vasilko's forces. Since the conflict was violent and the casualties numerous on both sides, Svyatopolk, upon noticing that the combat was fierce, took to flight, and escaped to the city of Vladimir. After their victory, Volodar and Vasilko remained on the spot and made no move, since they considered it advisable to remain within their boundaries.

Svyatopolk thus made good his escape to Vladimir, accompanied by his two sons, the two sons of Yaropolk, Svyatosha son of David Svyatoslavlich, and the rest of his retainers. Svyatopolk set up as prince in Vladimir Mstislav, who had been borne to him by a concubine, and then despatched Yaroslav among the Hungarians to incite them against Volodar, while he himself departed for Kiev. Yaroslav, the son of Svyatopolk, thus returned with Hungarian reinforcements, along with King Koloman and two bishops, and they besieged Przemysl on the Vyagro, while Volodar fortified himself within the town.

At this time David, after returning from Poland, had left his wife with Volodar and departed among the Polovcians. He was met by

Bonyak, however, so David turned back, and the two of them attacked the Hungarians. While on their journey, they pitched a bivouac, and at midnight Bonyak arose and rode away from the troops. [271] He straightway began to howl like a wolf, till first one and then many wolves answered him with their howls. Bonyak then returned to camp and announced to David that on the morrow they would celebrate a victory over the Hungarians.

The next day Bonyak marshaled his troop; David had one hundred men and he himself three hundred. He divided them into three troops and attacked the Hungarians. He sent Altunapa as a vanguard with fifty men, stationed David under the standard, and split his own force into two parts with fifty in each section. The Hungarians were aligned in corps, for their number was one hundred thousand. Altunapa attacked the first corps, and after his troop had shot their arrows, they fled before the Hungarians, who gave chase. In their course, they passed in front of Bonyak, who wheeled and attacked them from the rear. Altunapa then faced about, and they did not allow the Hungarians to give ground, but thus killed a great number as they drove them back and forth. Bonyak divided his men into three sections and they drove the Hungarians hither and yon as a falcon drives magpies.

The Hungarians fled, and many were drowned, some in the Vyagro and others in the San. As they fled along the San toward the mountains, they jostled each other in their haste, and the enemy pursued them for two days as he cut them down. Their Bishop Kupan and many of their boyars there met their deaths, for it was commonly reported that forty thousand of them perished. Yaroslav escaped to Poland and arrived safely at Brest, while David, after taking Suteska and Cherven, came suddenly and attacked the people of Vladimir.

Mstislav shut himself up in the city with his garrison, for he had with him men of Brest, Pinsk, and Vygoshev. David persisted in his siege, and made frequent attacks. On one occasion, his troops advanced beneath the very towers of the city, while the inhabitants were fighting from the city wall, and as both sides shot at each other, [272] the arrows fell thick as rain. Just as Mstislav was drawing his bow, he was suddenly stricken under the arm-pit by an arrow which had come through a cranny in a board upon the wall. He was carried away, and died in the course of that same night. His retainers hid his body for three days, but on the fourth they reported his death to the assembly. The inhabitants then lamented, "Our prince is dead. If we surrender, then Svyatopolk will kill us all." They then sent a message to Svyatopolk, declaring, "Your son is slain, and we ourselves are weak with hunger. If you do not relieve us, the people will surrender, since they cannot endure famine."

Svyatopolk then sent Putyata, his captain, and Putyata marched with his followers to Lutzk to meet Svyatosha, the son of David. The latter had certain retainers of David there with him, for he had entered into a pact with David which entailed his promise to inform David if Svyatopolk should attack him. Svyatosha, however, did not keep his promise, but arrested David's retainers, and set out himself to attack David. Svyatosha and Putyata arrived at Vladimir on August 5, while David's forces were besieging the city. David was taking his noonday siesta, and they fell upon his army and cut it to pieces. The inhabitants thereupon sallied out from the city, and began a massacre of David's soldiery. Both David and Mstislav his nephew fled. Svyatosha and Putyata then took possession of the city, and appointed Vasili as Svyatopolk's regent. Svyatosha then returned to Lutzk and Putyata to Kiev.

David escaped to the Polovcians, among whom Bonyak received him. The two of them advanced to attack Svyatosha in Lutzk, but made peace after they had laid siege to him in his city. Svyatosha then left his city and journeyed to his father in Chernigov. David thereupon seized Lutzk, and then departed thence to the city of Vladimir. Vasili the regent immediately took to flight, so that David [273] seized Vladimir and settled there as prince. In the following year, Svyatopolk, Vladimir, David, and Oleg won over to their cause David the son of Igor, but instead of assigning him the domain of Vladimir, they appointed him to Dorogobuzh, where he died. Thereupon Svyatopolk took possession of Vladimir, and established there as prince his son Yaroslav.

6606 (1098). Vladimir, David, and Oleg marched forth against Svyatopolk and halted at Gorodetz, where they made peace, as I mentioned in the account for the previous year.

6607 (1099). Svyatopolk advanced toward Vladimir to attack David, and drove him into Poland. In this year, the Hungarians were defeated near Przemysl. In this year, Mstislav, the son of Svyatopolk, was killed in Vladimir on July 12.

6608 (1100). On June 10, Mstislav departed from David to go overseas. On August 10 of the same year, the cousins Svyatopolk, Vladimir, David, and Oleg concluded peace among themselves at Uvetichi. At the same place, on the thirtieth day of the same month, the cousins Svyatopolk, Vladimir, David, and Oleg all met together, and David, the son of Igor, came before them and said, "Why have you summoned me? Behold, I am here. Who is dissatisfied with me?" Vladimir then answered him, "You have sent us this message: 'I desire, my kinsmen, to come before you and complain of my wrongs.' You now have come before us, and are seated upon the same rug with your kinsmen. Why do you not accuse any one of us against whom you have cause for complaint?" But David answered nought. All the kinsmen then mounted [274] their horses. Svyatopolk stood there with his retainers, and David and Oleg with theirs, at some little distance apart, while David, the son of Igor, sat by himself. They refused him further access to their presence, but considered him privately by themselves. After some consultation, they sent their messengers to David: Svyatopolk despatched Putyata, Vladimir detailed Orogost and Ratibor, and David and Oleg deputed Torchin. These emissaries came to David and reported, "This is the decision of your kinsmen in your regard: they do not wish to grant you the domain of Vladimir, for the reason that you cast a sword among them in a fashion hitherto unknown in the land of Rus. They will not take you prisoner or offer you any harm, but they will grant you the privilege of settling in the fortress of Buzhsk. Svyatopolk bestows upon you Duben and Chertorysk, while Vladimir pays you two hundred *grivni*, and David and Oleg the same amount between them." The princes then sent their deputies to Volodar and Vasilko, with instructions that Volodar should take Vasilko under his charge, and share with him the single domain of Przemysl. They were to remain there together, but in case Vasilko was unfavorable to this arrangement, he was to rejoin the princes so that they might care for him. Volodar was also instructed to return their slaves and peasants. Neither Volodar nor Vasilko heeded these instructions. David, however, settled at Buzhsk, and subsequently Svyatopolk gave him Dorogobuzh, where he died. The domain of Vladimir he assigned to his son Yaroslav.

6609 (1101). Vseslav, the prince of Polotzk, died on Wednesday, April 14, at the ninth hour of the day. In the same year, [275] Yaroslav, the son of Yaropolk prepared for war at Brest. Svyatopolk advanced to attack him, besieged him in his city, and after capturing him, shackled him and brought him to Kiev. The Metropolitan and the priors interceded in his behalf, persuaded Svyatopolk to pardon him, and then conducted him to the tomb of Sts Boris and Gleb, where they removed his shackles and released him. In the same year, all the kinsmen met at the Zolocha: Svyatopolk, Vladimir, David, Oleg, and Yaroslav, the brother of the two last-mentioned. The Polovcians sent messages from all their princes to the kinsmen with propositions of peace. The Russian princes replied that if they desired peace, a parley might be held at Sakov. The Polovcians accepted the suggestion, and assembled at Sakov. Peace was there concluded with the Polovcians, and hostages were exchanged upon September 15, after which they parted company.

6610 (1102). Yaroslav, the son of Yaropolk, fled from Kiev on October 1. At the close of the same month, Yaroslav the son of Svyatopolk lured Yaroslav the son of Yaropolk into an ambush, captured him thus on the Nur, and brought him before his father Svyatopolk. They thus laid him in chains. On December 20 of the same year, Mstislav, the son of Vladimir, arrived at Kiev with a suite of Novgorodians, since Svyatopolk had made an agreement with Vladimir whereby Svyatopolk should take over Novgorod and appoint his own son as prince there, while Vladimir was to appoint his own son prince in the domain of Vladimir. Mstislav thus arrived at Kiev, and settled in a house. The men of the city of Vladimir then called to Svyatopolk's attention that Vladimir had sent forward his son, and that the Novgorodians had already arrived. They therefore urged that the latter should take Svyatopolk's son with them and return to Novgorod, [276] while Mstislav should depart for Vladimir. The men from Novgorod then spoke up and declared to Svyatopolk, "We were sent to you, oh Prince, with positive instructions that our city does not want either you or your son. If your son has two heads, you might send him. But the fact is that Vsevolod assigned us Mstislav as our Prince. We brought him up as one of us while you left us in the lurch." Svyatopolk then had a long argument with them, but in the end, since they could not agree, the Novgorodians took Mstislav and departed homeward.

On January 29 of this year, there was a portent in the heavens visible for three days, resembling a fiery ray which proceeded from east, south, west, and north, and all night there was as much light as shines from the full moon. On February 5 of this year, there was a portent in the moon. On the seventh of the same month, there was a portent in the sun: it was surrounded by three rainbows, and there were other rainbows one above the other. At the sight of these portents, pious men with sighs and tears begged God that he should turn these portents to a good end. For some portents are of evil and others of favorable significance. During the following year, God inspired the princes of Rus with a noble project, for they resolved to attack the Polovcians and invade their territory, and this project was actually realized. This event we shall describe under the coming year. In this same year, on August 11, Yaroslav, the son of Yaropolk, passed away. On November 16 of this same year, Sbyslava, the daughter of Svyatopolk, was taken to Poland to marry Boleslav.

[277] 6611 (1103). God inspired a noble project in the hearts of the Russian princes Svyatopolk and Vladimir, and they met for consultation at Dolobsk. Svyatopolk with his retainers and Vladimir with his own took their seats in the same tent. The retainers of Svyatopolk began the discussion, and remarked that it was not advisable to open hostilities in the spring, since they would ruin the peasants and their fields. Vladimir then replied, "I am surprised, comrades, that you concern yourselves for the beasts with which the peasant plows. Why do you not bear in mind that as soon as the peasant begins his plowing, the Polovcian will come, shoot him down with his bolt, seize his horse, ride on into his village, and carry off his wife, his children, and all his property? Are you concerned for the horse and not for the peasant himself?"

Svyatopolk's retainers could find no answer, and Svyatopolk himself arose, remarking that for his part he was ready to fight. Then Vladimir informed him that by so doing he would confer an inestimable benefit upon the land of Rus. They then sent to Oleg and David and invited them to make a life-or-death stand against the Polovcians. David accepted, but Oleg opposed the campaign on the ground that he was unwell. Vladimir then embraced his cousin, and proceeded to Pereyaslavl, whither he was followed by Svyatopolk, David son of Svyatoslav, David son of Vseslav, Mstislav grandson of Igor, Vyacheslav son of Yaropolk, and Yaropolk son of Vladimir. They advanced on horseback and by boat, arrived below the cataracts, and halted by the rapids [278] at the island of Khortich. They then mounted their horses, and when the foot-soldiers had disembarked from the boats, they traveled across country for four days, and arrived at Suten.

When the Polovcians learned that the Russes were on their way, they collected innumerable forces and began to deliberate. Urusoba proposed that the Polovcians should make peace with the Russes, since the latter would offer the nomads a violent combat in view of the fact that the Polovcians had done much scathe to Rus. The younger chiefs replied to Urusoba that even if he was afraid of the Russes, they were not dismayed, for after conquering the Russes, they would invade their country and take their cities, and they wondered who would protect the Russes against them.

The princes of Rus and all the soldiery offered their prayers to God and made their vows to God and to the Virgin; some promised presents of food, others alms to the poor, and others supplies for the monasteries. After they had prayed thus, the Polovcians advanced, and sent Altunapa in front as a vanguard, since he was celebrated among them for his courage. The Russian princes likewise sent forward their advance party. They thus surprised the vanguard of Altunapa, upon whom they fell, slaying him and his followers. Not one of them escaped, for the Russes slew them all. The nomad troops came on like the trees of the forest, and their mass was impenetrable. The Russes straightway advanced to meet them. Now God on high inspired an awful fear in the Polovcians, so that terror and trembling beset them at the sight of the Russian forces, and they wavered. Even their steeds possessed no more swiftness of foot. But our soldiery, both foot and horse, advanced joyously to the combat.

Upon beholding the effort [279] of the Russes against them, the Polovcians fled before the Russian troops without even waiting to meet them, and our men gave chase and cut them down. On April 4, God thus performed a great salvation and bestowed upon us a mighty victory over our foes. Upon this expedition twenty Polovcian princes were slain: Urusoba, Kchi, Arslanapa, Kitanopa, Kuman, Asup, Kurtek, Chenegrepa, Surbar, and many other princes. Beldyuz was taken captive.

The kinsmen then rested, since they had overcome their foes. They brought Beldyuz before Svyatopolk, and the Polovcian chief offered to pay gold and silver, horses and cattle as his ransom. Svyatoslav then sent him to Vladimir. When he stood before him, Vladimir inquired, "Have you noticed how your former oath has brought you to ruin? Though you often gave pledges, you continued to harass the land of Rus. Why did you not admonish your sons and your kinsfolk not to violate their oaths by the shedding of Christian blood? Your blood be upon your own head." He then directed that the Polovcian should be killed, and they cut him to pieces.

Thereafter all the kinsmen gathered together, and Vladimir exclaimed, "This is the day that the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in it. For the Lord hath freed us from our foes, and put down our enemies, and crushed the serpents' heads. He hath given them as food to the men of Rus." They thus seized sheep and cattle, horses and camels, tents with booty and slaves, and with the tents they captured Pechenegs and Torks. They then returned to Rus carrying great spoil, with glory and a great victory won.

In this year, the locusts appeared on August 1. [280] On the eighteenth of the same month, Svyatopolk went forth and restored the town of Yuryev, which the Polovcians had burned. On March 4 of this year, Yaroslav fought with the Mordva, and was overcome.

6612 (1104). The daughter of Volodar was taken to Tsargrad on July 20 to become the wife of the son of the Emperor Alexius. On August 21 of the same year, Predslava, the daughter of Svyatopolk, was taken to Hungary to marry the king's son.

In the same year, on December 6, the Metropolitan Nicephorus arrived in Russia. On the thirteenth of the same month, Vyacheslav, the son of Yaropolk, passed away. On the eighteenth of this month, the Metropolitan was elevated to the throne.

We should also mention that at the close of this year Svyatopolk despatched Putyata to attack Minsk, while Vladimir sent his son Yaropolk on this same mission. Oleg, accompanied by David, the son of Vseslav, made an attack upon Gleb. They achieved no success, and returned home again.

A son was born to Svyatopolk, and he named him Bryachislav.

In this year, a portent appeared. The sun stood in a circle; in the middle of the circle, a cross appeared, and the sun stood in the middle of the cross. Within the circle, on both sides, were seen two other suns, and outside the circle, above the sun, there appeared a rainbow with its horns to the northward. There was likewise a portent of the same aspect in the moon on February 4, 5, and 6, so that this portent was visible three days in the sun by day and three nights in the moon by night.

6613 (1105). The Metropolitan appointed Amphilochius as Bishop of Vladimir on August [281] 27. On November 12 of the same year, he appointed Lazarus in Pereyaslavl. On December 13 of this year, he appointed Mina in Polotzk.

6614 (1106). The Polovcians raided in the vicinity of Zarechesk, and Svyatopolk sent Yan son of Vyshata, his brother Putyata, and Ivan the Khazar, son of Zakhari, to pursue them. They drove off the Polovcians and took some spoil. In the same year, Yan, that righteous ancient, died at a fair old age after a life of ninety years. Living as he did in the law of God, he was by no means inferior to the early saints. I heard from him many stories which I have set down in this chronicle as I heard them from his lips. His tomb is found in the chapel of the Crypt Monastery, where his body lies since its interment on June 24.

On December 6 of this year, Eupraxia, the daughter of Vsevolod, took the veil. In this same year, Zbygniew took refuge with Svyatopolk. On February 17 of this year, Svyatopolk, the son of David and grandson of Svyatoslav, became a monk. In this same year, the Zimegola defeated all the sons of Vseslav, and slew nine thousand of their followers.

6615 (1107), the fourth year of the lunar cycle and the eighth of the solar cycle. On May 7 of this year, the wife of Vladimir passed away. In the same month, Bonyak raided and seized many horses in the vicinity of Pereyaslavl. In the same year, Bonyak and old Sharukan and many other chieftains came [282] and laid siege to Lubny. Svyatopolk, Vladimir, Oleg, Svyatoslav, Mstislav, Vycheslav, and Yaropolk marched out to attack them at this town. At the sixth hour of the day, they crossed the Sula and shouted at the foe. The Polovcians were terrified, and because of their fear could not even raise a standard, but seized their horses and fled, while their foot-soldiers took to flight also. Our men then began to cut them down as they pursued them, and took others captive. They drove them thus nearly to the Khorol. They thus slew Taz, Bonyak's brother, while Sharukan barely escaped. On August 12, the Polovcians abandoned their camp, after the capture of which the Russian soldiery returned home with a great victory. Svyatopolk arrived before the Crypt Monastery at matins on the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, and the brethren embraced him amid great rejoicing, because our enemies were overthrown through the prayers of the Holy Virgin and of our holy father Theodosius. For Svyatopolk, before he went forth to war or on some other mission, made it a habit to kneel beside the tomb of Theodosius, and after receiving the blessing of the prior who was present, he proceeded with his errand.

On January 4 of this year, the Princess, Svyatopolk's mother, passed away.

During the same month of this year, Vladimir, David, and Oleg went forth to meet Ayepa and his namesake and made peace. On January 12, Vladimir took [283] the daughter of Ayepa, granddaughter of Osen, to be the wife of Prince George, while Oleg took for his son another daughter of Ayepa, who was the granddaughter of Girgen.

6616 (1108). Upon July 11, the Church of St Michael with the golden tower was founded by Prince Svyatopolk. The refectory of the Crypt Monastery was completed under the Prior Theoclestus. It had been constructed at the order of Gleb, who bore the expense of it. In this year, there was high water on the Dnieper, the Desna, and the Pripet.

In this year, God brought inspiration to Theoclestus, the prior of the Crypt Monastery, and he proposed to Prince Svyatopolk that Theodosius might be inscribed in the liturgy. The prince welcomed the suggestion and promised to execute it. He directed the Metropolitan to inscribe Theodosius in the liturgy, and gave orders to all the bishops that he should be thus inscribed. They complied with pleasure, and promised to make mention of Theodosius at all the councils.

On July 24 of this year, Katherine, the daughter of Vsevolod, passed away.

In this year was completed the tower of the Church of the Holy Virgin in Klov, which had been founded by Stephen, former prior of the Crypt Monastery.

6617 (1109). Eupraxia, the daughter of Vsevolod, died on July 10 and was laid in the Crypt Monastery by the southern portal. A chapel was built over her in which her body lies.

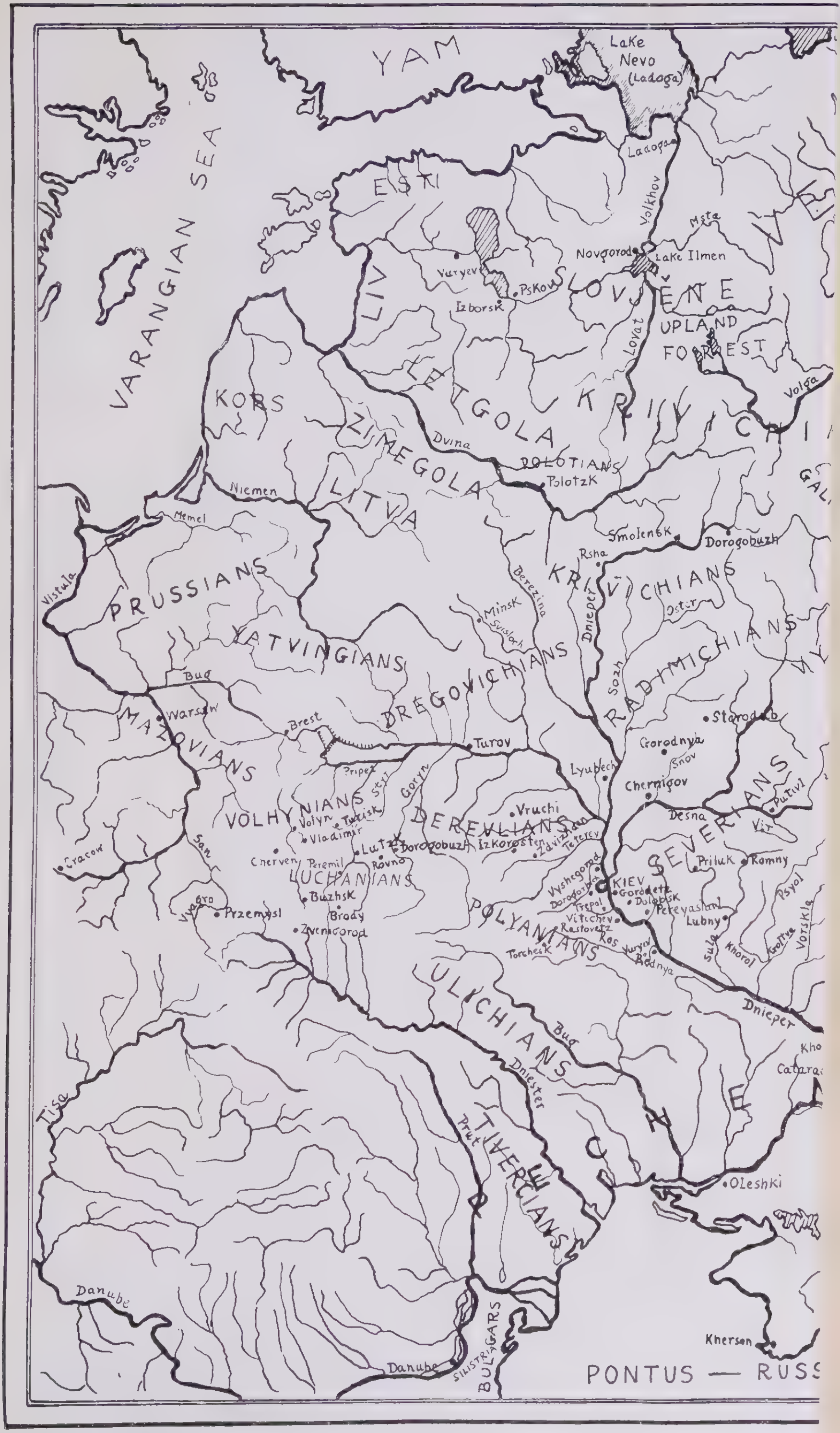
On December 2 of this same year, [284] Dmitri, the son of Igor, captured the Polovcian camp beside the Don.

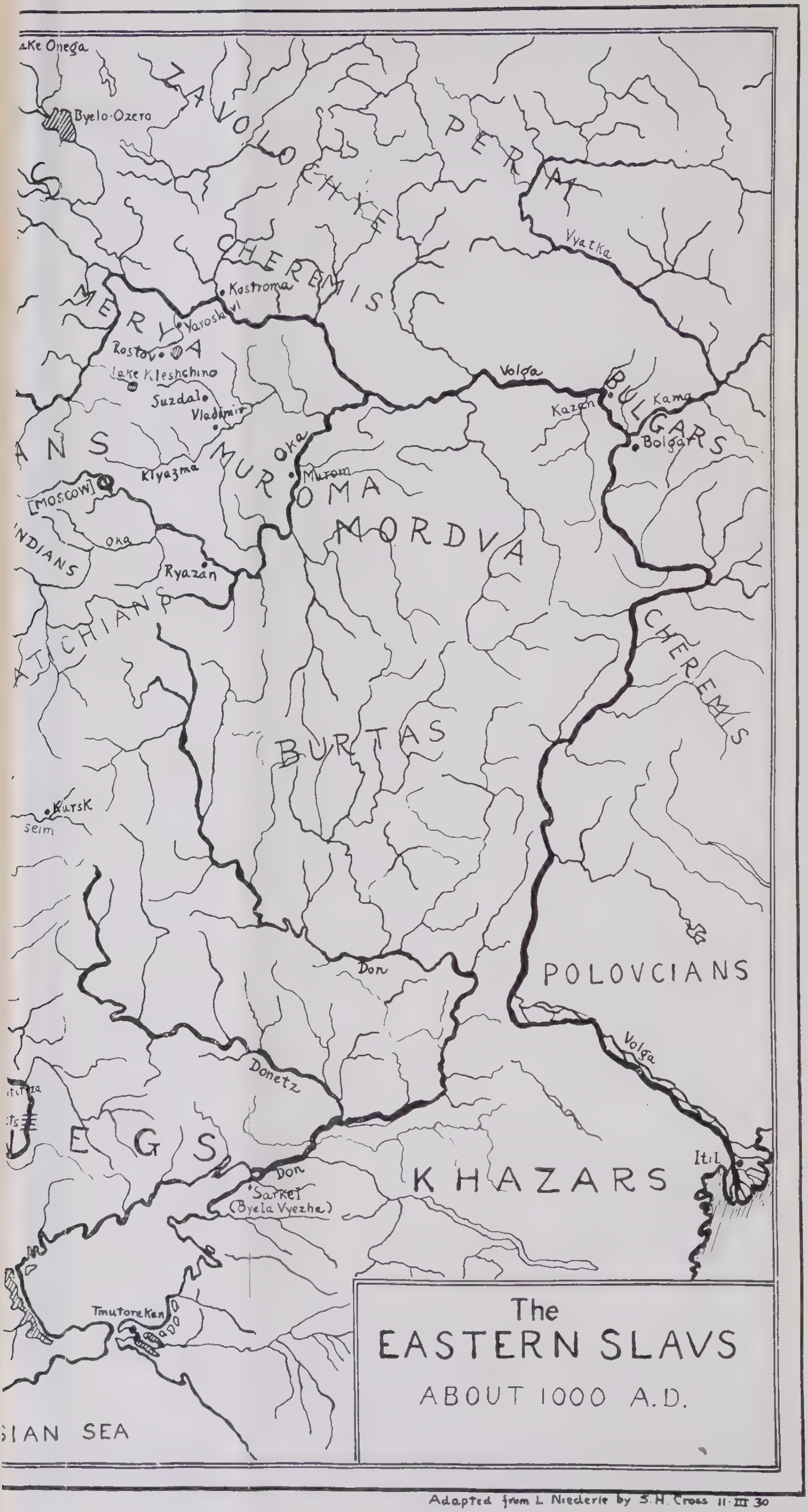
6618 (1110). In the spring, Svyatopolk, Vladimir, and David marched forth to attack the Polovcians, but returned after reaching the Voin.

On February 11 of this year, there was a portent in the Crypt Monastery. A fiery pillar appeared which reached from earth to heaven; lightnings illumined the whole countryside, and thunder was heard in the sky at the first hour of the night. The whole populace beheld the miracle. The pillar first stood over the stone refectory, so that its cross could not be seen. Then it moved a little, reached the church, and halted over the tomb of Theodosius. Then it rose, as if facing to the eastward, and forthwith became invisible.

This portent was not an actual pillar of fire, but an angelic manifestation. For an angel thus appears either as a pillar of fire or as a flame, even as David has said, "He maketh the winds his messengers and his ministers a flaming fire." (*Ps.* civ, 4.) They are sent forth by the command of God, according to the desire of the Lord and the Creator of all things. For an angel appears wherever there are blessed abodes and houses of prayer, and they there exhibit such portion of their aspect as it is possible for men to look upon. It is, indeed, impossible for men to behold an angelic form, even as the mighty Moses could not view the angelic being, for a pillar of cloud led the children of Israel by day, and a pillar of fire by night. This [285] apparition indicated an event which was destined to take place, and its presage was later realized. For in the following year, was not an angel the guide of our princes against our pagan foes, even as it is written, "An angel shall go before thee" (*Ex.* xxiii, 23), and again, "Thy angel be with thee?"

In the hope of God's grace, I Sylvester, Prior of St Michael's, wrote this Chronicle in the year 6624 (1116), during the reign of Prince Vladimir in Kiev, while I was presiding over St Michael's Monastery. May whosoever reads this book remember me in his prayers.


YAM
Lake Nevo (Ladoga)
Ladoga
VARANGIAN SEA
ESTI
Volkhov
Msta
Novgorod
Lake Ilmen
Yuryev
Pskov
Izborsk
SLOVENE
LIV
UPLAND FOREST
Lovat
Volga
KORS
LETGOLA
KRIVICHI
ZIMEGOLA
Dvina
POLOTIANS
Polotzk
GAL
Niemen
LITVA
Memel
Smolensk
Dorogobuzh
Rsha
Berezina
Vistula
PRUSSIANS
KRIVICHIANS
Minsk
Svislach
Dnieper
Ostr
YATVINGIANS
DREGOVICHIANS
RADIMICHIANS
Sozh
Bug
Warsaw
MAZOVIANS
Brest
Turov
Starodub
Gorodnya
Snov
Pripet
Styr
Goryn
Lyubech
Chernigov
Putivl
VOLHYNIANS
Volyn
Turisk
Vladimir
Vruchi
DEREVLIANS
Desna
Vir
Cracow
San
Cherven
Peremil
Lutzk
Rovno
Dorogobuzh
Izkorosten
Zdvizhen
Teterev
SEVERIANS
Priluk
Romny
LUCHANIANS
Vyshegorod
Dorogozhich
KIEV
Gorodetz
Dolobsk
Pereyaslavl
Psyol
Buzhsk
Vyagro
Przemysl
Brody
Zvenigorod
Trepol
Vitichev
Rastovetz
Ros
Yuryev
Lubny
POLYANIANS
Torchesk
Rodnya
Sula
Khorol
Goltva
Vorskla
ULICHIANS
Dnieper
Bug
Kho
Catarac
Dniester
Tisa
Prut
TIVERCIANS
PECHENEGS
Oleshki
Danube
Danube
Silistria
BULGARS
Kherson
PONTUS — RUSS


Lake Onega
Byelo-Ozero
ZAVOLOCHYE
PERM
Vyatka
CHEREMIS
Kostroma
MERYA
Yaroslavl
Rostov
Lake Kleshchino
Suzdal
Vladimir
ANS
Klyazma
[MOSCOW]
Oka
MUROMA
Murom
MORDVA
Volga
Kazan
Kama
BULGARS
Bolgar
NDIANS
Oka
Ryazan
ATICHIANS
CHEREMIS
BURTAS
Kursk
Seim
Don
POLOVCIANS
Volga
Donetz
EGS
Don
Sarkel
(Byela Vyezha)
KHAZARS
Itil
Tmutorokan
IAN SEA

The
EASTERN SLAVS
ABOUT 1000 A.D.

Adapted from L Niederle by S.H. Cross 11·III 30

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

The Testament of Vladimir Monomakh

As noted in the text (p. 279), the *Testament* (*Pouchenie*) follows immediately after the items for the year 1096 in the Laurentian MS., and is not preserved elsewhere, not even in the Königsberg-Radziwill and so-called *Moskovsko-Akademicheski* chronicle texts, which are most closely related in other respects to the Laurentian redaction of the *Povest.* It opens with a series of excerpts from the Psalter and from patristic works (particularly the *Discourses* of St. Basil the Great), apparently selected by Vladimir for his personal edification, and followed, first, by extensive admonitions to Vladimir's sons, and finally, by a somewhat incomplete summary of Vladimir's campaigns and adventures in approximate diary form. It was prepared not only for the instruction of his sons, but also for more or less general use. The *Pouchenie* begins the record of Vladimir's campaigns with 1073 and carries it to 1117, thus ending with a reference to an expedition against Yaroslav, the son of Svyatopolk (cf. Hyp. 281), which took place in the latter year. The dates of the events noted in the *Pouchenie* which can be checked from the *Povest* itself are noted below in parentheses. A comparison of the two works reveals that during the fifty years covered by Vladimir's account, military activity directed against the nomads was even more strenuous and constant than the annals themselves indicate. The *Pouchenie* was apparently composed shortly before Vladimir's death, which occurred in 1126, since the phrases "на далечи пути" (literally, "on a far journey," but signifying figuratively "in your old age,") and "на санѣхъ сѣдя" ("sitting on my sledge") contain obvious references to his advanced years and weakness. The occurrence of the *Pouchenie* in the Laurentian MS. may be explained only by conjecture. Its absence in the Hypatian MS. and in the two above-mentioned texts which apparently derive either from the same prototype as the Laurentian or from one closely related to it would indicate that it is an interpolation possibly inserted as late as the fourteenth century. For detailed discussion of this problem, cf. N. V. Shlyakov: "О Поучении Владимира Мономаха," *Журн. Мин. Народ. Прос.* (Leningrad 1900), May, pp. 96 ff., June, pp. 209 ff.; A. A. Shakhmatov: *Повесть Временных Лет*, vol. I (Leningrad, 1916), pp. xxxviii–xxxix; P. V. Vladimirov: *Древняя Русская Литература Киевского Периода* (Kiev, 1900), pp. 244–247, and App. iii; V. M. Istrin: "Замечания о Начале Русского Летописания," *Изв. Отд. Русск. Яз. и Слов.*, XXVII (Leningrad, 1924), 227–228; *idem*, *Очерк Истории Древнерусской Литературы* (Leningrad, 1922), pp. 162–170.

[240 *ad fin.*] I, wretched man that I am, named Vasili at my baptism by my pious and glorious grandsire Yaroslav, but commonly known by my Russian name Vladimir, and surnamed Monomakh by my beloved father and mother[1] . . . [241] and for the sake of Christian people, for I was many times saved from all distress through his mercy and through the prayers of my father.

As I sat upon my sledge, I meditated in my heart and praised God, who has led me, a sinner, even to this day. Let not my sons or anyone else who happens to read this brief discourse laugh at its contents. But rather let any one of my sons who takes my words to heart and is not disposed to laziness conduct himself according to my counsel. First, for the sake of God and your own souls, retain the fear of God in your hearts, and give alms generously, for such liberality is the root of all good. If this document displeases anyone, let him not be angry, but rather let him believe that, in my old age, I talked nonsense as I sat upon my sledge. For emissaries from my kinsmen met me on the Volga with the message, "Join with us quickly, that we may expel the sons of Rostislav, and seize their possessions. If you do not join us, we shall act for our own advantage, and you may conduct yourself as you deem best." I replied, "At the risk of your wrath, I cannot go with you or break my oath."

When I had dismissed the emissaries, in my sorrow I took up the Psalter, and when I opened it, this passage struck my eye: 'Why art thou cast down, my soul? Why dost thou disquiet me?" etc. (*Ps.* xliii, 5.) I collected these precious words, and arranged them in order, and copied them. If the last passage does not please you, then accept the first. "Why art thou sorrowful, my soul? Why dost thou disquiet me? Hope in God, for I will confess to him." (*Ibid.*) "Rival not with evildoers, nor envy the doers of unrighteousness. For the evildoers shall be cut off, but those who wait upon the Lord shall inherit the earth. But yet a little while, and the sinner shall not be; he shall seek his place and shall not find it. The meek shall inherit the earth, and shall rejoice in the abundance of peace. The sinner plotteth against the righteous, and gnasheth upon him with his teeth. The Lord shall laugh at him, and shall see that his day shall come. The wicked have drawn out the sword, they have bent their bow to cast down [242] the poor and the needy, and to kill the just of heart. The sword shall enter into their own hearts, and their bows shall be broken. A little that the righteous man hath is better than the riches of many wicked. The arms of the wicked shall be broken, but the Lord upholdeth the righteous. The wicked shall perish; but in his pity for the righteous he bestoweth gifts upon them. Those who bless him shall inherit the earth, but those that curse him shall be exterminated. The steps of man are ordered by the Lord. Though he fall, he shall not be utterly cast down, for the Lord upholdeth his hand. I have been young and now am old, yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken nor his seed begging bread. The righteous man is ever merciful and lendeth, and his seed is blessed. Depart from evil and do good; seek peace and pursue it, and dwell for evermore." (*Ps.* xxxvii, 1, 9–17, 19, 22–27.)

"When men rose against us, they had swallowed us up quick; when their anger was kindled against us, then the waters had overwhelmed us." (*Ps.*

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[1] Lacuna of 4½ lines.

cxxiv, 2–4.) "Be merciful unto me, oh God, for man hath persecuted me, fighting daily he oppresseth me. My enemies have persecuted me, many were they who fought against me." (*Ps.* lvi, 1–2.) "The righteous shall rejoice, when he seeth the vengeance; he shall wash his hands in the blood of the sinner, so that a man shall say, Verily there is a reward for the righteous, verily he is a God who judgeth in the earth." (*Ps.* lviii, 10–11.)

"Deliver me from mine enemies, oh God, and defend me from those who rise up against me. Deliver me from the workers of iniquity, and save me from bloody men; for they have set snares for my soul." (*Ps.* lix, 1–3.) "His anger endureth but a moment and in his favor there is life; weeping shall resound in the evening, and joy upon the morrow." (*Ps.* xxx, 5.) "Because thy lovingkindness is better than life, my lips shall praise thee. I will bless thee while I live, and in thy name will I lift up my hands." (*Ps.* lxiii, 3–4.) "Hide me from the secret counsels of the wicked, and from the multitude of evildoers." (*Ps.* lxiv, 2.) "Rejoice, all ye righteous in heart. I will bless the Lord at all times, his praise shall," etc. (*Ps.* xxxiv, 2.)

It was thus that Basil, after gathering together young men who were pure in heart and untainted in body, [243] inculcated in them a brief and a meek conversation and the word of God in right measure. He taught them to eat and to drink without unseemly noise; to be silent in the presence of the aged; to listen with profit to the wise; to humble themselves before their elders; to live in charity with their equals and their inferiors; to speak without guile, but to understand much; not to be immoderate in their language, nor to insult others in their conversation; not to laugh excessively; to respect the aged; to refrain from converse with shameless women; to cast their eyes downward and their souls upward; and to walk and not to leap. He taught them to respect all established authorities which are honored of all men. If any one of you can render a service to another, let him expect his recompense from God, and he shall thus enjoy eternal blessing.

Oh sovereign Mother of God! Take away pride and presumption from my poor heart, lest I be exalted in this empty life by the vanity of this world. Let the faithful learn to strive with pious effort. According to the word of the Gospel, learn to govern your eyes, to curb your tongue, to moderate your temper, to subdue your body, to restrain your wrath; and to cherish pure thoughts, exerting yourself in good works for the Lord's sake. When robbed, avenge not; when hated or persecuted, endure; when affronted, pray. Destroy sin, render justice to the orphan, protect the widow. "Come let us reason together, saith the Lord; if your sins be as scarlet, I will make them white as snow." (*Is.* i, 18.)

The dayspring of fasting shall shine forth, and likewise the light of repentance. Let us purify ourselves, my brethren, from every corporal and spiritual blemish, and, as we call upon our Creator, let us say, "Glory to thee, lover of mankind!" In truth, my children, understand how merciful, yea, how supremely merciful is God, the lover of mankind. Being of human stock, we are so sinful and mortal that, when anyone does us evil, we desire to destroy him and to shed his blood speedily. But our Lord, the ruler of life and death, suffers our sins to be higher than our heads, and yet he loves us all our lives as a father loves his son whom he chastens and then summons once more to his embrace.

Thus our Lord has promised us the victory over our enemies through three means of conquering [244] and overcoming them: repentance, tears, and almsgiving. My children, the commandment of God to conquer your sins by these three means is not severe. But I implore you for God's sake, be not lazy, nor forget these three means. For they are not difficult of attainment. Not through solitude nor an ascetic life, nor by such fasting as other good men endure, but through easy efforts may you thus obtain the mercy of God.

"What is man, that thou art mindful of him?" (*Ps.* viii, 6.) Great art thou, oh Lord, and marvelous are thy works, and blessed and praiseworthy is thy name forever throughout all the earth. Who fails to praise and magnify thy strength and thy great miracles and goodness that are made manifest on this earth: how the heaven was formed, the sun, the moon, the stars, the darkness of night and the light of day, and how the earth was set upon the waters, oh Lord, through thy devices?

We marvel at this miracle, in that thou hast fashioned man out of clay and created the various aspects of human countenances, so that, if the whole world should come together, all would not be of one likeness, but each person in his own aspect through the wisdom of God. We wonder likewise at the appearance of birds in the springtime in our own land first of all. Yet they remain not in one region, for both weak and strong, by divine commandment, fly over the whole earth, to populate the forests and fields. All these blessings God has bestowed upon us for the delight, sustenance, and pleasure of mankind. Great, oh Lord, is thy mercy upon us, for that thou hast created these delights for the sinner. The birds of the air are inspired by thee, oh Lord, and when thou ordainest, they utter their songs to the delight of men; and when thou ordainest not, they are silent, though they possess tongues.

But blessed art thou, oh Lord, and greatly praised! Since thou hast made and created all goodness, may he be accursed who fails to praise thee, oh Lord, and to believe with his whole heart and [245] soul in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.

As you read these words, my sons, praise God who has shown us his mercy and admonished you through the medium of my poor wit. Give heed to me, and accept an half of my instruction if you are not disposed to adopt it all. When God softens your hearts, shed tears for your sins, and pray, "As thou hast taken pity upon the adulteress, the robber, and the publican, have pity also upon us sinners," and utter these words both in the church and before you retire to rest.

If it is in any way possible, fail not one single night to kneel to the ground three times, in the case that you cannot do so more often. Forget not nor be remiss in this observance, for by his nightly worship and hymn man conquers the devil, and by this means expiates what sins he has committed during the day. When you are riding forth upon your horse, if you have no special subject of conversation with a companion and cannot utter some other prayer, then exclaim without ceasing "Kyrie eleison!" within yourselves. This is the best prayer of all, and infinitely better than thinking evil thoughts. Above all things, forget not the poor, but support them to the extent of your means. Give to the orphan, protect the widow, and permit the mighty to destroy no man. Take not the life of the just or the unjust, nor permit him to be killed. Destroy no Christian soul even though he be guilty of murder.

When you speak either good or evil, swear not by the name of God, nor cross yourselves, for that is unnecessary. Whenever you kiss the Cross to confirm an oath made to your brethren or to any other man, first test your heart as to whether you can abide by your word, then kiss the Cross, and after once having given your oath, abide by it, lest you destroy your souls by its violation.

Receive with affection the blessing of bishops, priests, and priors, and shun them not, but rather, according to your means, love and help them, that you may receive from them their intercession in the presence of God. Above all things, admit no pride in your hearts and minds, but say, "We are but mortal; today we live and tomorrow we shall be in the grave. All that thou hast given us is not ours, but thine, and thou hast but lent it to us for a few days." [246] Hoard not the treasures of earth, for therein lies great sin. Honor the ancient as your father, and the youth as your brother.

Be not lax in the discipline of your homes, but rather attend to all matters yourselves. Rely not upon your steward or your servant, lest they who visit you ridicule your house or your table. When you set out to war, be not inactive, depend not upon your captains, nor waste your time in drinking, eating, or sleeping. Set the sentries yourselves, and take your rest only after you have posted them at night at every important point about your troops; then take your rest, but arise early. Do not put off your accoutrements without a quick glance about you, for a man may thus perish suddenly through his own carelessness. Guard against lying, drunkenness, and vice, for therein perish soul and body. When journeying anywhere by road through your domain, do not permit your followers or another's company to visit violence upon the villages or upon the dwellings, lest men revile you. Wherever you go, as often as you halt, give the beggar to eat and to drink. Furthermore, honor the stranger, if not with a gift, at least with food and drink, whencesoever he comes to you, be he simple, or noble, or an emissary. For travelers give a man a universal reputation as generous or niggardly.

Visit the sick, and accompany the dead, for we are all but mortal. Pass no man without a greeting; give him a kindly word. Love your wives, but grant them no power over you. This is the end of all things: to hold the fear of God above all else. If you forget all my admonition, read this counsel frequently. Then I shall be without disgrace, and you shall profit thereby.

Forget not what useful knowledge you possess, and acquire that with which you are not acquainted, even as my father, though he remained at home in his own country, still understood five languages. For by this means honor is acquired in other lands. Laziness is the mother of all evil; what a man knows, he forgets, and what he does not know he does not learn. In the practice of good works, you cannot neglect any item of good conduct.

First of all, go to church; let not the rising sun find you in your bed. For this was my father's habit, and it is likewise the custom of all good and perfect men. [247] After rendering praise to God at matins, as you look upon the rising sun, render praise to God with gladness once again, saying, "Thou hast lightened my eyes, oh Christ my God, thou hast given me thy bright light. Grant me increase, oh Lord, in the years to come, so that, as I repent my sins and order my life righteously, I may thus continue to praise God." Then sit and deliberate with your retainers, or render justice to the people, or ride out for hunting or for pleasure, or else lie down to sleep. Sleep is established by God for noonday repose, since birds and beasts and men then rest from their labors.

I now narrate to you, my sons, the fatigue I have endured on journeys and hunts for fifty-three years. First I rode to Rostov through the Vyatichians, whither my father had sent me while he himself went to Kursk. (1073) Second, to Smolensk with Stavko the son of Skordyata; he then went to Brest with Izyaslav, and sent me to Smolensk. From Smolensk, I rode on to Vladimir.

In that same winter, my brethren sent me to Brest to the place which they had burned, and there I watched their city. Then I went to my father in Pereyaslavl, and after Easter, from Pereyaslavl to Vladimir to make peace with the Poles at Suteiska. Thence back to Vladimir again in the summer.

Then Svyatoslav sent me to Poland; after going beyond Glogau to the Czechish forest, I traveled four months in that country. (1076) In this year, my oldest child was born in Novgorod. Thence I went to Turov, in the spring to Pereyaslavl again, and then back to Turov. Svyatoslav then died, and I again went to Smolensk, and thence during the same winter to Novgorod, and in the spring to help Gleb. In the summer, I went with my father to Polotzk, and during the second winter before Polotzk the city was burned. He then went to Novgorod, while I, supported by Polovcians, marched against Odresk, carrying on constant warfare, and thence traveled to Chernigov. (1077) Then, on my return from Smolensk, I rejoined my father in Chernigov a second time.

Then Oleg came from Vladimir, and I invited him to dinner with my father at the Red Palace in Chernigov, and I gave my father three hundred *grivni* of gold. [248] Upon leaving Smolensk, I fought my way through the Polovcian forces, and arrived at Pereyaslavl, where I found my father newly arrived from a raid. Then I rode with my father and Izyaslav to Chernigov to fight with Boris, and we conquered Boris and Oleg. (1078) Then we went to Pereyaslavl, and remained in Obrov. Vseslav at that juncture fired Smolensk. I set forth with men from Chernigov and two horses, but we did not catch Vseslav at Smolensk. On this pursuit of Vseslav, I burned the countryside and ravaged as far as Lukaml and Logozhsk, then attacked Dryutesk, and returned to Chernigov.

In the winter of that year, the Polovcians devastated the whole of Starodub. I marched with men of Chernigov against the Polovcians. At the Desna, we seized the princes Asaduk and Sauk, and killed their followers. The next day, behind Novgorod, we scattered the powerful force of Belkatgin, and took their swords and all their booty. We then went for two winters among the Vyatichians to attack Khodota and his son. The first winter, I went to Korden, and then to Mikulen in pursuit of the sons of Izyaslav, whom we did not catch. In that spring we joined with Yaropolk at Brody.

The following summer, we chased the Polovcians beyond the Khorol, after they had captured Goroshin. During the autumn, in company with men of Chernigov, as well as Polovcians and Chityeyeviches, we captured the city and left in it neither slaves nor cattle. (1084) In that winter, we went to Brody to join Yaropolk, and concluded an important pact of friendship. In that winter, my father set me up to rule in Pereyaslavl, and we crossed the Supoi.

While we were on our way to the town of Priluk, we suddenly encountered the Polovcian chieftains with eight thousand men. We were ready and willing to fight with them, but we had sent our equipment ahead with the baggage train, and we therefore entered the town. They thus captured alive only Semtsya and a few peasants. Our men, on the other hand, killed or captured a large number of them. They did not even dare to lead away their mounts, and during the night fled to the Sula. On the following day, which was Sunday, we arrived at Byela Vyezha. With the aid of God and of the Holy [249] Virgin, our troops killed nine hundred Polovcians, and captured the two princes Asin and Sakza, the brothers of Bagubars, and only two men of their force escaped. We then pursued the Polovcians to Svyatoslavl, thence to Torchesk, and still further to Yuryev. (1086) Then again, on the east bank of the Dnieper, we once more defeated the Polovcians at Krasnoye. In company with Rostislav, we subsequently captured their camp at Varin. I then went to Vladimir and set up Yaropolk as prince, but he soon died.

(1093) After the death of my father, Svyatopolk and I together fought until evening with the Polovcians at the Sula in the vicinity of Khalep, and then made peace with Tugortkan and other Polovcian chiefs. We took from Gleb's followers all their troops. (1094) Oleg subsequently attacked me in Chernigov with Polovcian support; my troops fought with him for eight days by the small entrenchment and would not let him inside the outworks. I took pity on the souls of our Christian subjects, and upon the burned villages and monasteries, and said, "It is not for the pagans to boast." I therefore gave my kinsman my father's place, and retired myself to my father's domain of Pereyaslavl. We left Chernigov on the day of St. Boris, and rode through the Polovcians in a company of not more than a hundred together with the women and children. The Polovcians showed their teeth at us, as they stood like wolves at the fords and in the hills. But God and St Boris did not deliver us up to them as their prey, so that we arrived at Pereyaslavl unscathed.

I remained in Pereyaslavl three summers and winters with my retainers, and endured great distress through war and famine. We attacked the Polovcian forces behind Rimov, and God stood by us, so that we defeated them and took many captives. We overthrew the troops of Itlar, and after marching beyond Goltav, we captured their camp. We now attacked Oleg at Starodub, because he had made common cause with the Polovcians. In pursuit of Bonyak, we advanced to the Bug and later beyond the Ros in company with Svyatoslav. (1095) After reaching Smolensk, we became reconciled with David.

We set out a second time from Voronitza. At this juncture, the Torks and the Chityeyeviches came from among the Polovcians to attack us, so that we advanced against them to the Sula. [250] We then returned again to Rostov for the winter, and three winters later I returned to Smolensk. Thence I went to Rostov.

A second time, Svyatopolk and I pursued Bonyak, but the nomads escaped and we did not catch them. Thereupon we again followed Bonyak beyond the Ros, yet did not overtake him. During the winter, I traveled to Smolensk, but left there on Easter Day. George's mother passed away. In the summer, I went to Pereyaslavl, and assembled my kinsmen together. Bonyak with his entire force of Polovcians approached Kosnyatin, and we sallied forth from Pereyaslavl to meet them as far as the Sula. By God's help, we were able to make peace with Ayepa, and after receiving his daughter as hostage, we proceeded to Smolensk. Thence we journeyed to Rostov. On departing thence, I again attacked the Polovcians under Urusoba in company with Svyatopolk, and God aided us. Then I again attacked Bonyak at Lubno, and God again vouchsafed us his aid. In company with Svyatopolk, I set out once more upon a campaign. With Svyatopolk and David, I later went as far as the Don, and God granted us his aid.

Ayepa and Bonyak had approached Vyrev with the intention of capturing it. I advanced to meet them as far as Romny with Oleg and my sons. When the nomads learned of our coming, they fled. Then we marched to attack Gleb at Smolensk, because he had captured our retainers. (1116) God aided us, and we accomplished our purpose. Thereupon we marched to attack Yaroslav son of Svyatopolk at Vladimir, since we were no longer disposed to endure his malice. (1117) On one occasion, I rode at full speed in one day from Chernigov to join my father in Kiev. Among all my campaigns, there are eighty-three long ones, and I do not count the minor adventures.

I concluded nineteen peace treaties with the Polovcians with or without my father's aid, and dispensed much of my cattle and my garments. I freed from their captivity the best Polovcian princes, including two brothers of Sharukan, three brothers of Bagubars, four brothers of Ovchin, and one hundred of their foremost leaders. Of other chieftains whom God delivered alive into my hands, I took captive, killed, and had cast into the river Slavlya Koxus and his son, Aklan, Burchevich, Azgului prince of Tarev, and fifteen other young chieftains, [251] and at the same time not less than two hundred of the leading prisoners were likewise killed, and cast into the same river.

I devoted much energy to hunting as long as I reigned in Chernigov and made excursions from that city. Until the present year, in fact, I without difficulty used all my strength in hunting, not to mention other hunting expeditions around Turov, since I had been accustomed to chase every sort of game while in my father's company.

At Chernigov, I even bound wild horses with my bare hands or captured ten or twenty live horses with the lasso, and besides that, while riding along the Rus, I caught these same wild horses barehanded. Two bisons tossed me and my horse on their horns, a stag once gored me, one elk stamped upon me, while another gored me, a boar once tore my sword from my thigh, a bear on one occasion bit my kneecap, and another wild beast jumped on my flank and threw my horse with me. But God preserved me unharmed.

I often fell from my horse, fractured my skull twice, and in my youth injured my arms and legs when I did not reck of my life or spare my head. In war and at the hunt, by night and by day, in heat and in cold, I did whatever my servant had to do, and gave myself no rest. Without relying on lieutenants or messengers, I did whatever was necessary; I looked to every disposition in my household. At the hunt, I posted the hunters, and I looked after the stables, the falcons, and the hawks. I did not allow the mighty to distress the common peasant or the poverty-stricken widow, and interested myself in the church administration and service.

Let not my sons or whoever else reads this document criticize me. I do not commend my own boldness, but I praise God and glorify his memory because he guarded me, a sinful and a wretched man, for so many years in these [252] dangerous vicissitudes, and did not make me inactive or useless for all the necessary works of man. As you read this screed, prepare yourselves for all good works, and glorify God among his saints. Without fear of death, of war, or of wild beasts, do a man's work, my sons, as God sets it before you. If I suffered no ill from war, from wild beasts, from flood, or from falling from my horse, then surely no one can harm you and destroy you, unless that too be destined of God. But if death comes from God, then neither father, nor mother, nor brethren can hinder it, and though it is prudent to be constantly upon one's guard, the protection of God is fairer than the protection of man.

APPENDIX II

A. LETTER OF VLADIMIR MONOMAKH TO OLEG, SON OF SVYATOSLAV

THIS letter refers to the death of Vladimir Monomakh's son Izyaslav near Murom on September 6, 1096 in battle against Oleg, son of Svyatoslav. Oleg was Vladimir Monomakh's own cousin. Oleg's father Svyatoslav had been Prince of Kiev for three years after the expulsion of Izyaslav, son of Yaroslav, in 1073, but upon Svyatoslav's death, and after the restoration of Izyaslav in 1077, Oleg was not assigned an important domain. He therefore fled to join his brother Roman in Tmutorakan. First with his cousin Boris and later alone, he organized several Polovcian raids into Russian territory. In 1078, Boris and Oleg thus fought a crucial battle against Vsevolod and Izyaslav at the Nezhatina plain, in which both Izyaslav Yaroslavich and Boris lost their lives. Upon his return southward, Oleg was captured by the Khazars and shipped to Constantinople, whence he returned to South Russia only in 1083. He remained quiescent for some ten years, until in 1094 he again appeared before Chernigov with his usual Polovcian allies. Vladimir Monomakh discreetly surrendered the city and withdrew to Pereyaslavl. A year later, Oleg's relations with his cousins Svyatopolk and Vladimir once more became strained when he refused to join them in a campaign against the nomads. In 1096, Oleg likewise declined to make any pact with his kinsmen, with the result that Svyatopolk and Vladimir laid siege to Chernigov and forced Oleg to flee. Reduced to surrender at Starodub, Oleg was then directed to rejoin his brother David at Smolensk, pending a general conference at Kiev. He immediately began to collect troops for the purpose of capturing Murom, over which then ruled Vladimir's son Izyaslav. The young prince offered a bold resistance, but was slain in his first collision with Oleg's force, and later buried at Novgorod. Izyaslav's brother Mstislav, who was then Prince of Novgorod, immediately offered to effect a reconciliation between Vladimir Monomakh and Oleg, and it was at Mstislav's request that Vladimir wrote the letter reproduced below.

As in the case of the *Pouchenie*, there is no satisfactory explanation for the inclusion, not only of this letter, but also of the subsequent prayer attributed to Vladimir, within the compass of the *Povest*, in which they follow immediately upon the *Pouchenie* without any attempt at differentiation of the three texts. The most plausible suggestion is that of V. M. Istrin (*Известия*, XXVII [1924], 228) that certain works of Vladimir Monomakh were preserved, perhaps in mutilated form, among the latter's descendants at Novgorod and Suzdal, and thus fell into the hands of the copyist Lavrentii, who perceived their relation to the events of 1096, and thus interpolated them bodily into the narrative for that year.

[252] Oh long-suffering and wretched man that I am! My soul, long hast thou wrestled with my heart, and thou hast conquered it. For being but mortal, I reflect how I may stand before the dread Judge ere we have done

penance and become reconciled with one another. "For if any man say, I love God, and love not his brother, it is a lie." (*John*, iv, 20.) Likewise, "If ye do not forgive your brother's trespasses, neither will your heavenly Father forgive you." (*Matt.* vi, 15.) The Prophet says, "Fret not thyself because of evildoers, nor be thou envious against the workers of iniquity." (*Ps.* xxxvii, 1.) "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!" (*Ps.* cxxxiii, 1.)

But the teaching of the devil prevails everywhere. There were wars in the days of our wise grandsires and our righteous and blessed sires. For the devil, who desires no good to the race of man, continues to incite us.

I have written these words because my son, whom you christened, and who lives near you, influenced me to do so. He sent to me a messenger with letters, saying, "Let us make peace and be reconciled. Judgment has been visited upon my brother. Let us not set ourselves up as avengers, but rather trust in God. The criminals shall stand before the bar of God. But let us not bring ruin upon the land of Rus." I observed the humility of my son, and in the fear of God, I said, "In his youth and his inexperience he is humble [253] and trusts in God, while I am a man sinful before all his fellows." I heeded the words of my son, and wrote this letter. I shall discern from your answer whether you receive it with favor or scorn. For with these my words I have forestalled you in the action to which I expected humility and repentance would impel you, just as I myself desire God's forgiveness for my former sins. Our Lord is not a mere man, but a divinity throughout the whole world. Yet though he can, if he so desire, perform any miracle in the winking of an eye, he submitted himself to reviling, to spitting, and to blows, and even delivered himself up to death, though he was Lord of both life and death. But what are we, sinful men? Today alive, tomorrow dead; today in glory and honor, tomorrow in the grave and unremembered, while others divide our treasures.

Look, my kinsman, upon our sires. What did they carry away with them, or what did they profit by their promises? Only as much as they had done for their souls. Would that you, my kinsman, had been the first to write, and had forestalled me in these utterances! When my son was slain, and you beheld his blood and his mutilated corpse as he lay like a withered flower or a slaughtered lamb, you might have stood over him and said, as you read the secret thoughts of your soul, "Alas, what have I done? Without considering his inexperience, I have brought crime upon myself through the perversity of this vain world, and have brought tears upon his father and his mother." You could have lamented like David, "I know my sin, it is ever before me." (*Ps.* li, 3.)

Without the shedding of blood, David, the Lord's anointed, committed adultery. But when he cast dust upon his head and wept bitterly in that hour, God remitted his sins. You might have repented also. You might have sent me a letter of consolation, and returned to me my daughter-in-law (for in her there is no harm), that I might embrace her and mourn her husband and her marriage, instead of uttering joyous songs. For because of my sins I did not behold their joy of other days nor their betrothal. But now, for

God's sake, send her to me quickly with your first [254] answer, so that I may mourn with her unceasingly and set her in the station that befits her: so may she sit languishing like a dove on a dry tree, and I shall be consoled in God!

Our sons and our fathers have trod this same path. Judgment came to my son from the hand of God, not at your hand. But if you had satisfied your desire, and had taken Murom instead of Rostov, a message to me would have reconciled us. But consider which was fitting, that I should write to you, or you to me. If you had bidden my son to write to his father, I should have sent conciliatory messages ten times over.

Is it strange that a man should have perished in war? Better men have died ere this even in our own family. You should not have coveted another's domain, nor brought me to shame and sorrow, for slaves have learned to steal for themselves, but they have won only evil thereby. If therefore you repent before God, you will make me of good cheer. Send me your messenger or a priest, and write a letter with just intent. Then you shall receive your domain with my good wishes, you will turn our hearts toward each other, and we shall be better off than before. I am not malicious or revengeful. I did not desire to see your blood shed at Starodub. May God grant that I should not see blood shed by your hand or at my command, or through the instigation of any kinsman of mine! If I lie, may God and the Holy Cross judge me!

Perhaps I sinned when I attacked you in Chernigov because of the pagans. But I repent of my action, and I have said so aloud to my kinsman, and confessed it repeatedly, for after all I am but human. If this seems good, let it be so; if ill, let your godson sit with his little brother, eating his uncle's bread, while you possess your domain, and make your own decision in this regard. If you purpose to kill them both, they are in your power, for I wish no ill, but I desire rather the good of my kinsmen and of the land of Rus. If you are thinking to use violence, remember that out of friendly regard for you we restored to you your inheritance at Starodub. But God is witness that we have come to an agreement with your brother, [255] but it does not avail us to make any terms without your adherence. We have done no evil, but have said, "Send for your brother that we may be reconciled." If one of you does not wish good or peace to Christian men, let him receive no repose for his soul at God's hand in the life to come! It is not by compulsion that I address you, nor am I in any wise distressed, but you hear me speak from God's inspiration. My soul is dearer to me than aught else in this world. At the last judgment, I count myself without accusers.

B. PRAYER ATTRIBUTED TO VLADIMIR MONOMAKH

Wise ruler, bestower of knowledge, chastiser of the thoughtless and protector of the needy, confirm my heart in wisdom, oh Lord! Give me a fatherly word, for thou hast not hindered me from raising my cry unto thee, Merciful Father, have pity upon a weak mortal. God is my hope, Christ my refuge, the Holy Ghost my protection. Oh my hope and my fortress, scorn me not, blessed one! Since I possess thee as my helper in sorrow and in sickness and against all adversities, I glorify thee, exalted being?

Understand and see that I am God, who test your hearts and know your minds, who reveal your deeds, punish your sins, and render justice to orphans and to the poor and the needy.

Incline, oh my soul, and consider thy deeds that thou hast done; bring them before thine eyes, shed tears from thine eyes and confess openly all thy actions and thoughts to Christ, and be purified. Holy Andrew, thrice blessed father, shepherd of Christ, cease not to intercede for us who honor thee, that we may escape from all malice, all sorrow, pollution, sin, and misery, faithfully honoring thy memory.

Pure Virgin Mother, preserve thy city, which through thy help endures in faith, that we may be strengthened by thee and hope in thee, and conquer all obstacles, overthrowing our enemies and living in obedience.

Oh exalted [256] Mother, who didst bear the Holy Word of all the Saints, accept this present oblation and protect us from all incursions and besetting torments, now that we call upon thee! We thy servants entreat thee and kneel before thee with prayerful hearts. Incline thine ear, pure one, and save us, who are constantly beset by misfortune, and guard thy city, oh Mother of God, from every captivity of its foes!

Oh God, spare thy heritage, look not upon our sins, since we on earth pray to thee, who, through thy pity for this world, wast born unbegotten, and didst deign, oh Christ, to clothe thyself in flesh.

Spare us, our newborn Savior, and preserve immaculate her who bore thee, even when thou dost come, sinless and merciful, to judge our deeds as God and lover of mankind.

Pure Virgin, who didst not know marriage, delight of God, guide of the faithful, save me as I perish and call upon thy Son. Have mercy upon me, oh Lord, have mercy when thou shalt judge. Judge me not with fire nor accuse me in thine anger! The Holy Virgin, who bore thee, intercedes with thee, oh Christ, in company with the angelic host and the army of martyrs. Through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be honor and glory, to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now and forever, world without end.

APPENDIX III

EVENTS OF 1110–1113 FROM HYPATIAN TEXT

[H ^{3} 259] AS THE prophet David says, "He shall give his angels charge concerning thee to preserve thee" (*Ps.* xci, 11). As Epiphanius the Sage has written: "For every object an angel is appointed: an angel for clouds and darkness, for snow and hail and frost; an angel for voices and thunders, an angel for cold and heat, for autumn, spring, and summer: each spirit possesses its apportioned object upon the earth and in the secret abysses, which are hidden under the earth, and in the nethermost darknesses which are in the space which of old was above the earth, and from which come darkness, evening, and night, as well as light and day; to every object angels are thus assigned. If an angel is appointed to observe any country, where pagans dwell, and if God's anger falls upon that country, so that he commands the angel to attack it, the angel in that country does not oppose God's commandment."[1]

Thus it was that God for our sins brought upon us the pagans, and they overcame us by God's commandment. For they were led [260] by an angel through divine command. If any one say there is no angel among the pagans, let him hear what befell Alexander of Macedon, who, after preparing an expedition against Darius, came upon him, and conquered all the earth from sunrise to sunset. He overcame the land of Egypt, he overcame Aram, and arrived at the islands of the sea; and he turned his face to go against Jerusalem and conquer the Jews, for they were at peace with Darius. He thus came with all his soldiery, encamped, and took his rest. When night came, as he lay upon his pallet in his tent, and opening his eyes, he saw a man standing over him, and a naked sword was in his hand, and its flash was like lightning; and he aimed his sword at the King's head.

The King was sore afraid, and said, "Strike me not," but the angel replied, "God has sent me to strike down great kings and many nations before thee. I go before thee to help thee; and now learn how thou shalt die, inasmuch as thou hast thought to go against Jerusalem, and to inflict evil upon the Jews, God's chosen people." And the King said, "I pray thee, oh Lord, remit now thy servant's sin; if my project be displeasing to thee, I will return to my house." But the angel answered, "Fear not; go thy way to Jerusalem, and [261] thou shalt see in Jerusalem a man after my likeness; fall quickly on thy face and bow before that man, and whatever he commands thee, execute it, and transgress not his instruction; for on the day that thou dost transgress his instruction, thou shalt die."

The King arose then, went to Jerusalem, and upon arriving there, he inquired of the Jews whether he should attack Darius. They showed him the books of Daniel the Prophet, and made answer, "Thou art the goat and he is the ram, thou shalt smite him and shalt take his realm."

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[1] Cf. *Epiphanii Episcopi Constantiae Opera*, ed. G. Dindorf (Leipzig, 1863) IV, 27.

Now did not an angel lead Alexander, and did not a pagan conquer all the Greek idolaters? Likewise are these pagans let loose in consequence of our sins. For let this be known, that there is one angel among Christians, and since they are baptised, our orthodox princes are especially favored by angelic guidance. But [the angels] may not oppose God's commandment, though they pray God earnestly in behalf of Christian men. Therefore it came to pass that, at the prayers of the holy Virgin and the holy angels, God had pity, and sent his angels to help the Princes of Rus against the pagans. As he said unto Moses: "Behold, my angel shall go before thy face" (*Ex.*, xxii, 34). As we previously narrated, this sign appeared on February 11, toward the close of [66] 18.

6619 (1111). Now God inspired Vladimir, and he bespoke his brother Svyatopolk, urging him to a fall campaign against the pagans. Svyatopolk informed his followers of Vladimir's suggestion, and they replied, "This is not the time to ruin the peasant and his fields." Svyatopolk then sent his answer to Vladimir [262] saying, "Let us meet together and discuss this matter with our followers." The messengers came to Vladimir, and reported to him Svyatopolk's reply. Vladimir then set out, and they met together at Dolobsk. Svyatopolk and his retainers and Vladimir, accompanied by his own retinue, took seats in one tent. There was silence till Vladimir said, "Brother, you are the elder; tell us first what our intentions should be in behalf of the land of Rus." But Svyatopolk replied, "Brother, do you rather begin." So Vladimir remarked, "How shall I speak, when your retinue will make cause against me, urging that I wish to ruin the peasants and the harvest with them? I am rather surprised, my brother, that you concern yourselves for the peasant and his horses, completely disregarding the fact that at autumn he will begin to plow with his horse, and then the Polovcian will come, shoot the peasant with his bolts, seize the peasant's nag and his wife and his children, and then burn his grange. Why not think of that possibility?" Then all the retainers remarked that this was entirely in accord with the facts. So Svyatopolk announced, "For my part, brother, I am ready to set out with you."

They then despatched messengers to David, son of Svyatoslav, to invite his assistance. Vladimir and Svyatopolk arose then, kissed each other, and set out against the Polovcians. Vladimir, Svyatopolk, and David, supported by their sons, thus set forth, hoping in God and in the Immaculate Virgin, and in God's holy angels. They went out during the second week of Lent, and on Friday they were at the Sula. On Saturday, they moved forward to the Khorol, [263] and there they left their sleds. On Sunday, upon which they kissed the cross, they advanced to the Psyol, and thence took position on the Golta river. At that point, additional forces awaited them, and they went on to the Vorskla. There, upon Wednesday, the day following, they kissed the cross, and with many tears placed all their hope upon it. During the sixth week of Lent, they traversed many rivers, and on Tuesday arrived at the Don. They marshalled themselves in battle array, aligned their troops, and approached the city of Sharukan.

Prince Vladimir, as he rode before his troop, directed them to sing hymns and chants, and the canon of the Holy Virgin. At eventide, they rode up to the city, and on Sunday the inhabitants came forth and made submission to the Russian princes, offering gifts of fish and wine. There they passed the night, and on Wednesday, the following day, they arrived at Sugrov, which they burned. On Thursday, they left the Don, and on the next day, Friday March 24, the Polovcians assembled, marshalled their troops, and advanced to battle. Our princes placed their hope in God, and said, "If we are to meet our death here, let us stand fast." So they kissed each other, and raising their eyes to heaven, called upon the most high God. When the foes clashed and the strife was bitter, God [264] on high looked down with anger upon the aliens, and they fell before the Christians. And thus were the aliens conquered, and many foes, our enemies, fell before the Russian princes and foemen at the brook Degeya, and God aided the Princes of Rus. They thus rendered thanks to God on that day, and on the morrow, which was Saturday, they celebrated the resurrection of Lazarus, the day of annunciation. They passed Saturday in praise to God, and thus came to Sunday.

Now when Monday of Passion Week was come, the aliens collected a great multitude of their soldiery, and advanced like wild boars, in dark multitudes, and the Russian forces gave ground. And the Lord God sent an angel to the aid of the Princes of Rus. The Polovcians and the Russian troops advanced; they first fought in formation, and there was a roar like thunder as the two fronts met. The battle was fierce between them, with heavy losses on both sides. Vladimir and David then advanced with their troops, upon the sight of whom the Polovcians took to flight. But they fell before Vladimir's advance, stricken invisibly by angels, as many men beheld, and their heads fell to earth, severed by invisible hands. The Polovcians were thus conquered on March 27, being Monday in Holy Week. A great multitude of the aliens were slain on the river Salnitsa and [265] God thus saved his people.

Svyatopolk, Vladimir, and David then glorified God, who granted them such a victory over the pagans, and they captured many cattle, horses and sheep, as well as numerous prisoners. To the prisoners they put the question, "How came it that you, with such strength and multitudinous forces, could not resist, but speedily took to flight?" They replied, "How can we fight with you, when other men rode above you in bright and terrible panoply to help you?" But these are angels, sent from God to aid Christians. For an angel inspired Vladimir Monomakh to incite his brethren, the Princes of Rus, against the aliens. Thus, as we have recounted, a portent was seen in the Crypt Monastery in the guise of a fiery pillar standing over the refectory, whence it moved to the church and thence to Gorodetz. Vladimir was at the time in Radosyn, and then an angel moved Vladimir's heart and exerted compulsion upon him, as we have related.

Therefore the angels are worthy to be praised, even as John Chrysostom [1] has said: "They sing eternally to thee, their Creator, that he may be merciful and kind to men. The angels are, I say, our allies as we fight against hostile powers, and in their number is [266] the Archangel Michael, who fought the devil for the body of Moses, and withstood the prince of the Persians in protection of the people's liberty. For when by God's command they had obtained control of all creation and were in authority over the mightiest of the nations, he judged Gabriel worthy to oversee the Persians, but bade Michael guard the people of circumcision. But according to some ineffable divine principle, one angel obliged the Jews to serve the Persians, while the other drew them toward liberty, and constantly inspired their worship of God, as he said, 'Oh Lord omnipotent, how long wilt thou not pity Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, which thou hast seen these eighty years?' In his vision Daniel saw him in flight, and his face was as the lightning and his eyes like torches of fire, and his arms and legs like the sheen of bronze, and the voice of his words like the voice of a mighty throng. It was one of them who turned aside Balaam's ass, and saved him from impure enchantment. It was one of them who drew his sword before Joshua, son of Nun, and by his appearance urged him to engage his foes. It was one of their number who slew 180,000 Assyrians in a single night, and mixed with death the slumber of the barbarians. [267] One of them it was who lifted up the Prophet Habakkuk with a leap through the air, that he might save the Prophet Daniel among the lions. It is these and such as these who excel against the foe. Such was the divine Raphael who by cutting up the entrails of a fish, cured a girl possessed of devils, and restored the aged blind man's sight. Are not these who save one life worthy of great honors? Angels are not only set as guardians of the Gentiles, according to the saying (*Deut.*, xxxii): 'When the most high divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the angels of God;' but also to every faithful man is an angel appointed. For when the girl Rhoda announced to the apostles that Peter stood before the door, when he had escaped from Herod's prison, they said, in their lack of faith, 'It is his angel.' Our Lord bears witness to these things in his words: 'Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, That in heaven their angels do always behold the face of our Father which is in heaven.' (*Matthew*, xviii, 10) Indeed, Christ set angels as guards over every church, even as John says in Revelation: 'Say to the angel of the church in Smyrna, "I have seen thy poverty and thy affliction; but rich art thou (*Apoc.*, ii, 8, 9)." Justly therefore do we honor the angels who love us and pray the Lord in our behalf. For they are, in the words of the apostle, 'ministering spirits, set forth to minister for them who shall be heirs of [268] salvation,' (*Heb.*, i, 14) whose champions and allies they are. You have just heard from Daniel how he brought the Archangel Michael, who does battle for our liberty before all men. Now one angel compelled the people to serve the Persians, as has been said; but the other was zealous to relieve their servitude. Thus Michael overcame his adversary; for the Jews, after crossing the Euphrates, received their homes from his hand once more, and rebuilt the city and the temple." Likewise the great Epiphanius[1] said, "Holy writ declares that an angel is appointed to every nation. For an angel spoke to Daniel mentioning the Prince of the Persians and the Prince of the Greeks, as well as Michael the lord of the Persians. Moses has said, 'He has set the bounds of the nations according to the number of the angels of God.'" And further, Hippolytus says, in his interpretation of Daniel:[2] "'In the third year of Cyrus the king, I, Daniel, was in mourning for three weeks, and in the first month I was consoled, after praying to God for twenty-one days, entreating of him revelation of a secret. And giving ear, the Father sent forth his word, and commanded that his desire should be fulfilled.' And Daniel was beside a great river; a fair vision was to appear there, where God was desirous of remitting human sin. And he lifted up his eyes, and saw a man in purple; in his first vision he had beheld the angel Gabriel in flight, but this time he beheld the Lord himself, not entirely as a man, but appearing in human form, as he says, 'Behold a certain man clothed in linen, whose loins were girded in pure gold; his body [269] also was like the beryl, and his face as the lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire, and his legs and shoulders like to pure brass, and his voice as of a great multitude. And I fell on the earth, and behold, he appeared unto me like a human hand, and lifted me to my knee, and said to me, "Fear not, Daniel; knowest thou wherefore I have come to thee? I will fight with the prince of Persia. But I will show thee the scripture of truth, and no one can vie with me in these things but Michael your prince. Him I have left among you from the day when you were zealous in prayer before your God, who has heard your petition, and I am come forth to do battle with the Prince of the Persians. There was some council not to let the people go, but I opposed it, and left here Michael your prince."' Who is Michael but the angel appointed for the people? As Moses says: 'I will not go up in the midst of thee, for thou art a stiff-necked people, but my angel shall go with you (*Ex.*, xxxiii, 2–3).'"

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[1] John Chrysostom, ed. B. de Montfaucon (Paris, 1837), VIII, 978–9, but more likely derived from Georgius Hamartolus, cf. ed. von Muralt, p. 160, ll. 16 ff., and for Slavic text, cf. Istrin I, 160.

Thus with God's aid, through the supplications of the Virgin and his holy angels, the Russian princes returned homeward with great glory among their people and among all foreign nations, the Greeks, the Hungarians, the Poles and the Czechs, whence their fame penetrated even to Rome, to the glory of God, now, henceforth, and forever more, Amen.

On October 7 [270] of the same year died the Princess, wife of Vsevolod, and she was buried in the monastery of St Andrew. On November 23 of this year died John, Bishop of Chernigov.

6620 (1112). Yaroslav, son of Svyatopolk, attacked and defeated the Yatvingians. Having returned with his army, he sent envoys to Novgorod, and on May 12 was betrothed to the daughter of Mstislav (she who was granddaughter of Vladimir) and she was brought to him on June 29. In the same year, Vladimir's daughter Euthymia was married to the King of

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[1] This quotation is likewise derived from Georgius Hamartolus, cf. von Muralt, p. 162 and Istrin I, 162.

[2] Hippolytus: *Werke* I: *Exegetische u. homiletische Schriften* ed. G. N. Bonwetsch u. H. Achelis (Leipzig, 1897), 280 ff.

Hungary. On May 25 of this year, David son of Igor passed away, and on the 29th was buried at Klov in the church of the Virgin of Blachernae. On November 3 of this year died Yanka, Vladimir's sister and the daughter of Vsevolod, and she was laid to rest in the church of St Andrew which her father had built. As a maiden, she had also taken the veil in this same church. Toward the close of this year, on January 12, Theoktistos, prior of the Crypt Monastery, was appointed Bishop of Chernigov, and consecrated on the 19th to the great joy of Prince David and his consort, for he had been the Princess's father confessor. The nobles and all the people rejoiced, for his predecessor had been precluded from active ministration by an illness of twenty-four years' duration, so that the Prince and his people desired a more active prelate, and thus were happy as they glorified God. Under the circumstances, since the Crypt Monastery was without a prior, the brethren all met together and after electing [271] as their prior Prokhor the priest's son, they reported their action to the bishop and Prince Syvatopolk, who gladly commanded the metropolitan to consecrate him, and he was thus consecrated on Thursday February 9, in the week before Lent; thus the community entered upon the fast duly provided with a prior.

6621 (1113). On March 19th, being the 29th day of the moon, and at the first hour of the day, there was a generally visible portent in the sun, which was reduced to small size, with horns at the ends like the moon. These portents forbode no good; such signs in the sun, moon, or stars do not apply to the whole world, but are visible only in the country where they appear. Thus in the days of Antiochus, there were portents at Jerusalem with armed warriors riding on steeds through the air amid the clash of arms. This was visible, however, in Jerusalem only, but did not appear elsewhere. Thus there was a portent in the sun which presaged the death of Svyatopolk. For afterward came the Easter festival, which was duly celebrated, but after the holiday the prince fell ill. Thus on April 16, at Vyshegorod, the pious prince Michael, called Svyatopolk, passed away. He was brought on a boat to Kiev, where they adorned his body and laid it on a sledge. After the nobles and his retinue had wept over him, chanting the usual [272] hymns, they laid him to rest in the church of St Michael, which he himself had built. The Princess his wife distributed many riches to monasteries and priests and poor, arousing universal wonder that any one could give so many alms. On the morrow, being April 17, the inhabitants of Kiev took council, and invited Vladimir to ascend the ancestral throne. On hearing their message, Vladimir wept, and refused to accept, mourning for his brother. But the men of Kiev plundered the palace of Putyata the Thousandman, and attacked and robbed the Jews. The citizens of Kiev once more sent messengers to Vladimir saying, "Come, oh Prince, to Kiev; and if you do not come, know that much evil will befall. For it will not be merely a matter of robbing the palace of Putyata, or the hundredmen, or even the Jews, but they will attack your sister-in-law, the nobles, and the monasteries, and if they plunder the monasteries, you will be responsible for it." When Vladimir heard these sayings, he went to Kiev.

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The beginning of the principate of Vladimir, son of Vsevolod. Vladimir arrived at Kiev on Monday, and was met with great honor by the Metropolitan Nicephorus, the bishops, and all the inhabitants. He thus assumed the throne of his father and his ancestors, and all the people rejoiced, and the rioting was quelled. When the Polovcians learned of the death of Svyatopolk, they gathered their forces and advanced to the Vyr. Vladimir [273] assembled his sons and nephews, set out for the Vyr, and joined with Oleg, but the Polovcians fled. In the same year, he located his son Svyatoslav in Pereyaslavl, and Vyachislav in Smolensk. On September 14 of this year died the prior of the Monastery of St Lazarus, a recluse of pious life, who passed sixty years in monastic orders and was ninety-two years old at his death. On September 11 of this year, Vladimir accepted the daughter of Volodar as wife for his son Roman. In this year, Izyaslav founded at Novgorod the stone church of St Nicholas in the princes' palace by the market-place. In this same year, Vladimir placed his son Yaropolk in Pereyaslavl. In the same year Daniel was appointed Bishop of Yuryev and Nikita at Bvelgorod.

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